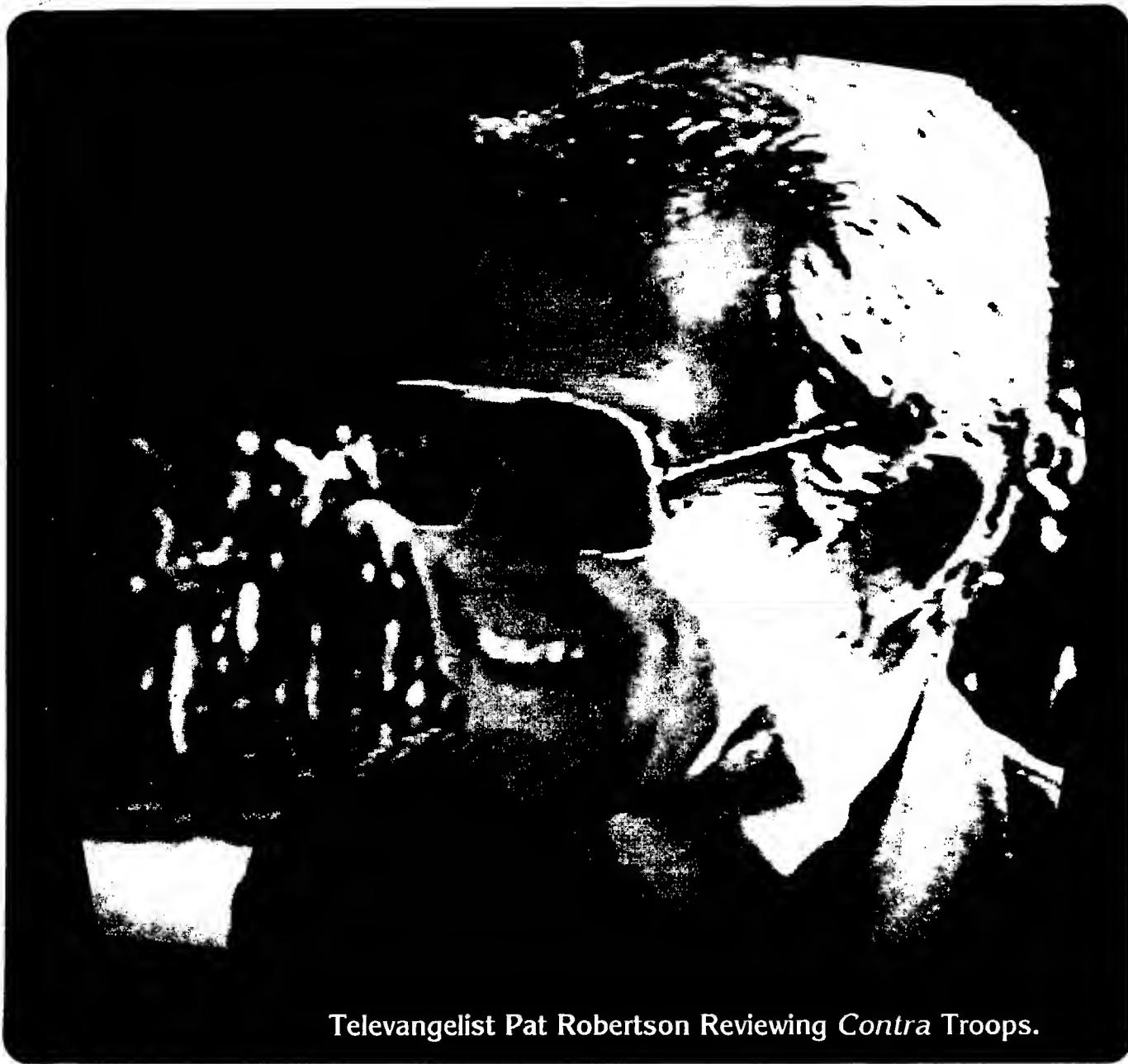


Covert Action INFORMATION BULLETIN

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Special Issue on the Religious Right



Televangelist Pat Robertson Reviewing Contra Troops.

Editorial

This double issue of CAIB focuses on the growing power of the Religious Right in American politics. It is an enormous subject, and in the articles which follow we highlight only a few of the more significant elements of this movement and its domestic and international networks. Its powerful lobbying for a far-right foreign policy, its profound connections to the military-industrial complex, and its rapidly growing international operations make the Religious Right a world-wide concern.

The Religious Right fulfills a specific purpose for the most regressive sectors of the ruling class, and its operations supplement the work of the government agencies, think tanks, lobbies, private intelligence, and other institutions created, funded, and protected by the same ruling circles. During recent years it has demonstrated to those interests its ability to recruit and mobilize large numbers of persons around an extremely reactionary agenda.

The leadership of the Religious Right has a significant connection to the secular, political world—the reason it is of such significance to the progressive movement. Backers of the World Anti-Communist League sit on the board of the Campus Crusade for Christ; rightwing business magnates and military brass fund the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship Inter-

national. Reverend Moon gives Arnaud de Borchgrave a newspaper. Pat Robertson outpolls Jesse Helms, and Ronald Reagan sends his regards to the America Needs Fatima Campaign.

While we recognize and support the struggles of the progressive religious community for social justice at home and abroad, most of our readers know little of the activities of its opposite numbers in the Religious Right. We hope that this issue will help people begin to understand the scope of their empire.

Contragate and All That Jazz

Although the Iran-hostage-*contra* scandal burgeoned as we were preparing this special issue to go to press, we could not let these propitious developments go unsung. While we hope in later issues to analyze in detail some of the interesting ramifications of the scandal, we cover here the interesting career of Frank Carlucci, the strange operations of Southern Air Transport, and the shuttle diplomacy of Michael Ledeen.

Finally, we are pleased to present Edward Herman's definitive analysis of the *New York Times*'s unending disinformation about the Bulgarian Connection. •

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Cover: Pat Robertson reviews *contra* troops in Honduras during "Operation Blessing," a scene from "A Su Nombre," a half-hour video about the penetration of the religious Right in Central America. For rental or purchase information, write to: Karen Ranucci, 87 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10013.

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In Memoriam:

Samora Moises Machel

By Ellen Ray



On the same day—October 19—just three years apart, two great Third World leaders, Samora Moises Machel of Mozambique and Maurice Bishop of Grenada, were murdered by the same forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism, and racism.

Maurice Bishop's Murder

In the case of Prime Minister Bishop, U.S. intelligence worked incessantly for the four years of the Grenadian revolutionary experience to divide and conquer the New Jewel Movement, in order to justify the coming invasion. Their machinations came to a head on October 19, 1983: Bishop had been arrested and held for several days by members of his own party when a march to secure his release was led by provocateurs just before a scheduled meeting to resolve the conflict. He was taken to a military garrison rather than to the town square, where he had wanted to address his people. In the horror which ensued at Fort Rupert, Bishop and five other high government officials were murdered, along with an unknown number of Grenadians mowed down by soldiers' bullets.

Despite a sham trial in Grenada, held under the watchful eye of the U.S., which ended recently with the conviction of seventeen people for murder and manslaughter, the events of that bloody October 19 will never be known. Just who killed Maurice Bishop and his comrades, and under whose orders?

The Plane Crash

The forces behind the killing of President Samora Machel may have a better chance of surfacing, although the South African police had nearly twenty-four hours to destroy evidence before Mozambican authorities arrived at the site of the plane crash.

On that equally bloody October 19 last year, Machel and a plane load of his advisers and staff were returning from a meet-

ing in Zambia between three frontline leaders and Zaire's President Mobutu. The meeting followed two weeks of escalating South African threats against Mozambique. The President's twin-engine Soviet TU-134 was about to land at Maputo airport when suddenly, according to the cockpit voice recorder found in the wreckage, the automatic pilot was given instructions by a VOR signal (very high frequency omnidirectional radio), on the Maputo airport frequency, to turn sharply to the right, a course which took the plane into the mountains of the South African border with Mozambique, where it crashed at an altitude of 2,187 feet. Thirty-five people, including Machel's closest advisers, were killed; ten people survived.

There are numerous discrepancies in the South African authorities' story. Pretoria admits that it had tracked the plane from the time it left Zambia and that their police arrived at the scene of the crash within two hours, although they did nothing to help the survivors, nor did they inform the Mozambican authorities for more than nine hours. The plane went down in a closed South African military border zone, just 300 meters from Mozambique. Witnesses at the site report that a large tent had been set up several days before the crash 150 meters away, and that it was mysteriously taken down the day after the crash. The obvious conclusion is that it housed a portable VOR beacon which lured the plane to its fatal destination. There is no question about the false VOR signal. The black box, which South Africa refused for over a month to return to Mozambique, is clear on that.

But were foul play to be proved in the future, the South Africans and the U.S. have a ready alibi. The U.S.-South African backed Mozambique National Resistance (MNR or Renamo), a vicious group of insurgents who have been waging a terrorist war in that region, has spread the story that it downed the plane with a captured Soviet-built SAM missile. If necessary, it will be easy for all concerned to blame the action on them. Even more convenient is the fact that there are two MNPs, both backed by the U.S. (see sidebar in "God Is Phasing Out Democracy," in this issue), so that if one is blamed, the other can continue to receive "covert" U.S. aid to continue the war against Mozambique.

All of this underscores how complicated U.S. strategic planning can be. The Reagan Doctrine was not averse to wooing Machel when he was alive, which they did in brokering the short-lived Nkomati accord between Mozambique and South Africa. When he was killed, so much the better in their grand plan for southern Africa.

Conclusion

CAIB had many friends who died in both of these bloodbaths, victims of betrayal, treachery, and cold-blooded murder. If there is a lesson to be learned from either experience, it is the further confirmation that the U.S., South Africa, and their allies will not shrink from the most heinous acts to accomplish their ends.

Holy Spirit or Holy Spook?

By Larry Kickham*

Sometimes religion and covert action, like religion and politics, get mixed together. Televangelist Pat Robertson, head of the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) and CBN University, and a presidential candidate, has gone so far as to liken the presence of CIA agents to divine protection (see sidebar). A religious leader who can confuse God with the CIA is capable of almost anything.

Robertson's CBN funneled aid to the Efrain Ríos Montt junta in Guatemala and to the *contra* armies in Honduras and Costa Rica. Robertson told the *New York Times*¹ that CBN would send missionaries and "more than a billion dollars" to Guatemala. The promise wasn't fully met but the Guatemalan dictator used the pledges of support from U.S. evangelicals to convince Congress that he would not seek massive sums of U.S. government aid. The State Department briefed Christian Right leaders on the need for "private" support for the Ríos Montt regime. Such "private" aid was funneled through Ríos Montt's Eureka, California-based sect, Gospel Outreach, which helped the Guatemalan army administer the refugee camps created by Ríos Montt's brutal counterinsurgency massacres of Mayan Quiche Indians.² Robertson is still deeply involved in counterinsurgency efforts in Central America. CBN now supplies chaplains and Bibles to the *contras*.³ Unfortunately, Robertson's CBN, unlike some other television evangelists including Billy Graham and Jim Bakker, does not voluntarily issue annual audited financial statements.

An international organization like CBN, active in 65 foreign countries including Israel, Argentina, Bophuthatswana—a South African "home-land," El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras, would be of obvious use to an intelligence agency like the CIA. Such organizations can be used as conduits of funds and can help administer counterinsurgency programs, and even help keep up military morale by providing chaplains. Counterinsurgency is a dirty business involving a lot of killing. The killers need assurance that they are pursuing a godly crusade to continue their work with a good conscience.

The Bid For Power

Now, after two terms of Ronald Reagan, a televangelist is making a bid for the White House. Pat Robertson, backed by elements of the same evangelical coalition Reagan reintroduced to politics, has been running hard for the presidency since 1985. Robertson unofficially launched his campaign at the February 1986 national convention of the National Religious Broadcasters (NRB). Staff members and

students of CBN University passed out buttons proclaiming: "PAT ROBERTSON '88, CHRISTIANS FOR ROBERTSON." At the conclusion of Robertson's keynote address (an attack on the Democratic party chief and a call for "Christian" activism in politics) CBN staff and students lifted a Robertson for President banner. But whether Robertson can actually get the Republican nomination may not be as important in the long run as the success of evangelical organizations and individuals in local and regional politics.

Conservative evangelicals became major players in the political arena when their champion Ronald Reagan was elected President in 1980. The political action groups behind Reagan, like Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, the California-based Christian Voice, and Tim LaHaye's American Coalition for Traditional Values (ACTV) organized many independent fundamentalist and Pentecostal churches across the country into effective voting blocs. In 1984, thanks to their efforts, Reagan won about 80 percent of what had become a white evangelical voting bloc.⁴

The "Religious Right" is a complex coalition of independent organizations ranging from the well-known and wealthy national and international television networks like CBN, through smaller but more numerous regional TV and radio ministries, to a multitude of small "mom and pop" operations. Many of these organizations are now actively involved in coalition politics. Most of them aggressively backed Reagan and have supported controversial Reagan administration programs with letter-writing campaigns to influence a reluctant Congress. Reagan returned the favor by recruiting evangelical activists into government service and symbolically championing their pet issues. Having tasted power, and after eight years of appointments and hirings under Reagan, conservative evangelicals will be credentialed players in national politics well into the next century. The leaders of the evangelical bloc, having tasted power, are now planning to win elections to come and are sure to continue to play a significant role in American politics in the years ahead.

Pat Robertson, a star of religious television who has been "praying" about running for president, surprised observers by the success of his organization, the Freedom Council, in the initial contests for state presidential delegates in Michigan. The Freedom Council filed as many delegate candidates as Vice President George Bush. According to Robertson's numbers he came in a dead heat with Bush in the actual delegate count. The exit polls, however, had Robertson trailing behind Bush, though, in such a close election many voters probably didn't actually know which presidential candidates the candidates for delegates favored.

Robertson's organization may prove to be even stronger in the South than in Michigan. Because the Christian Right has become an organized bloc, Robertson could well surprise everyone by becoming a serious contender in the Republican presidential primaries of 1987-8. Robertson founded the Freedom Council in 1981 as a tax-deductible, non-profit, "educational" organization. It trained evangelicals in party politics to

1. May 20, 1982.

2. See Sara Diamond, "Candidate Robertson's Central American Policy," *Daily Californian*, September 3, 1986. And see "Shepherding," in this issue.

3. See John Dillon and Jon Lee Anderson, "Who's Behind the Aid to the *Contras*," *The Nation*, October 6, 1984, and Vicki Kemper, "In the Name of Relief: A look at private U.S. aid in *contra* territory," *Sojourners*, October 1985. Robertson told a press conference at the National Religious Broadcasters convention in Washington, D.C. (February 4, 1986) that he supplied chaplains and Bibles to the *contra* troops.

* Larry Kickham is a freelance journalist in New York who has studied the religious Right intensively.

4. A CBS News poll published in the *New York Times*, November 8, 1984.

win "the battle of souls taking place in government," and ran voter registration drives in churches throughout the country, training conservative evangelicals, mostly Republicans, to run for local, state, and federal elective offices. In October 1986, in the midst of an IRS investigation, the Freedom Council was dissolved.

In spite of his organizational power and recent success, Robertson does have a problem with his public acceptability and with a possible backlash among old-line Republicans. According to a 1986 *New York Times/CBS* poll, 79 percent of the public surveyed had no opinion of Robertson. Nine percent had an favorable opinion, and 12 percent an unfavorable one.⁵ Whether or not Pat Robertson succeeds in his bid for the presidency, organizations like the Freedom Council will have a significant impact on American politics. One Freedom Council staffer boasted that in a few years in some states a "non-Christian" won't be able to be elected dogcatcher.

Robertson also has his international television network, CBN. It is said that televangelists like Robertson are watched, they say, by some 40 percent of the viewing public.⁶ CBN currently collects in excess of \$200 million a year from its financial supporters. The revenue is partly based on a hierarchy of "clubs" for CBN contributors. "700 Club" members are expected to contribute \$20 a month. Other club members, like the members of the "founders club", annually contribute thousands of dollars to CBN. The \$230 million Robertson's CBN gathered in 1985, however, according to CBN's public affairs director, comes largely from "sympathetic corporations,"⁷ and not from viewers. CBN is the fourth largest television network in the U.S.

CBN's flagship program, the 700 Club, is one of the more popular religious shows and reportedly reaches about 4.4 million Americans.⁸ Other Robertson projects like Operation Blessing and Heads Up are administered through independent Pentecostal and charismatic churches around the country. Heads Up is a phonics-based literacy program for children. Operation Blessing provides material aid through local churches to the poor in North America and abroad, supplying aid to refugees in Honduras and the *contras* (see cover).⁹

Pat Robertson is attempting to organize a potentially significant voting bloc in the Pentecostal and charismatic churches. The inherent drama of healings, possession, speaking in tongues, and prophecy are attractive to a large public. According to *Christianity Today*, a 1980 Gallup poll done for it indicated that some 29 million adult Americans (19 percent of the adult population of the country) considered themselves charismatic Christians.¹⁰ Like Pentecostals they pray in tongues or "in the Spirit" and lay on hands for healings, financial blessings, and prophecy. Pentecostal styles of worship have spread widely among both Blacks and whites in north America. Charismatic/Pentecostal behaviors like talking in tongues, praying for physical healings, and spontaneous prophecies

5. *New York Times*, August 5, 1986.

6. David Clark and Paul Virts, "Religious Television Audience: A New Development in Measuring Audience Size," paper presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Savannah, Georgia, October 25, 1985. The paper's authors are both associated with Robertson's CBN organizations. Their data comes from a Nielsen study contracted by CBN.

7. Sara Diamond, "Preacher Pat for Prez?" *Mother Jones*, January 1986, p.

8.

8. Clark and Virts, *op. cit.*, n. 6.

9. Dillon and Anderson, *op. cit.*, n. 3.

10. Clark and Virts, *op. cit.*, n. 6, citing Kenneth S. Kanizer, "The Charismatics Among Us," *Christianity Today*, February 22, 1980, p. 25.

have spread among Catholics, so-called mainstream Protestants, and throughout many of the thousands of small independent churches.

Churches, if well organized, can become decisive voting blocs during the usually light turnout of primary elections. Many fundamentalist and Pentecostal churches are already organized as blocs. Falwell's Moral Majority helped organize the fundamentalists, while other groups, like Christian Voice, helped organize the Pentecostals and charismatics.

In 1984 Christian Voice, a political action group made up largely of Pentecostal Christians, trained local ministers in the mechanics of registering, educating their flocks about the "right" political choices, and getting their congregations out to the polls on election day. Many churches voted in blocs for candidates identified by Christian Voice as "moral." Christian Voice supplied churches with congressional "Report Cards" and a "Presidential Biblical Scoreboard" that rated the candidates. Their rating system was heavily slanted in favor of the "pro-family" Republicans who favored increased defense spending and an aggressive anti-communist foreign policy. The Democratic candidates in 1984 were portrayed in the "Presidential Biblical Scoreboard" as pro-abortion "baby-killers" who favored "kiddie-porn," and were mired in the moral relativism of "New Age Globalism." A headline in the Christian Voice "Presidential Scoreboard" stated that "Many 'serial killers are homosexuals.' The "Scoreboard" blasted the Democrats for favoring bills to protect gays' civil rights.

No, Pat, The CIA is Not a Company of Angels

In 1981, at the 28th Annual World Convention of the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International in Philadelphia, keynote speaker Pat Robertson told his audience how the Pakistani intelligence service had once confiscated film taken by a CBN camera crew on the Afghanistan border. Robertson prayed for divine intervention. That night, he claims, the Lord answered him at 3:45 AM. He got down on his knees and began to praise God, speaking in tongues. God had intervened, Robertson explained, acting through the CIA:

[T]hose folks in Pakistan let every bit of our film except for the little bit they damaged come out of Pakistan. I might add that the Lord took care of that. And the Ambassador personally, the United States Ambassador, sent one of his men to personally walk our people through the customs...

And, you know, God did that too. After we got back to this country, it's kind of cute, we learned that some of our drivers were working for the United States CIA

Robertson told his fellow believers that God was watching out for them. Angels, like those CIA agents in Pakistan, were guarding them all.

You and I are surrounded by a company of angels. I've talked about a couple of potential CIA agents watching after me over in Pakistan.

Credit: Washington For Jesus



Pat Robertson in classic pose.

The Politics of Armageddon

A Robertson candidacy is likely to mobilize many of the Pentecostal and charismatic churches. They will be driven by an apocalyptic vision of Christian triumphalism. (See "The Theology of Nuclear War" in this issue.) Robertson believes that "Christians" will take over state power during the coming last days just before the Millennial Kingdom emerges. At the same time, Robertson believes, there will be a huge harvest of souls and then global catastrophe—the prophesied Soviet invasion of Israel that many evangelicals see as inevitable. They believe the U.S.S.R. will be destroyed by great earthquakes or by U.S. nuclear weapons, tools in hands of an angry God.¹¹ Robertson has told audiences that he believes he will see the destruction of the Soviet Union in his lifetime.¹²

The History of the "Old Time Religion"

Despite their political clout, evangelicals in politics have been poorly understood by the majority of Americans. After the presidency of Jimmy Carter, "born-again" and "conservative evangelicals" fully captured the attention of a puzzled national press in 1979 when Jerry Falwell launched the Moral Majority and entered the political arena. But the religious movement that spawned the winning political coalition which swept Reagan into office has a history going back into the Nineteenth Century. For a long time evangelicals were

11. Robertson, unlike Jimmy Swaggart and Jerry Falwell, is a posttribulationist. He believes that instead of being raptured, Christians will have to go through a seven-year tribulation period before the Millennial Kingdom is finally realized. Robertson believes the Kingdom will gradually emerge as Christians take high office during the tribulation period and a last huge revival sweeps the world. At one point, Robertson believed nuclear war was inevitable. But at different points in his career he has believed variously, that the mechanism by which "Magog" (the U.S.S.R.) will be destroyed would be nuclear weapons or earthquakes, etc. In his book about his "Kingdom" theology, Robertson left the question of the mechanism ambiguous: "...God, who is even in control of the invading horde from the north [the U.S.S.R.], will intervene in Israel's behalf with a great shaking—earthquakes, volcanic activity, fire, confusion, and even fighting among the allied invaders." He also speaks of fire falling upon Magog, the homeland of the leaders of the force, and upon "those who inhabit the coastlands in safety." This could, of course, be a vision of nuclear bombing. Pat Robertson (with Bob Slosser), *The Secret Kingdom* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1982), p. 214.

12. Robertson made this remark, for example, in a speech to an audience of Full Gospel Businessmen at their 28th annual world convention in Philadelphia in 1981.

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politically dormant, having withdrawn into a ghetto of their own making. They became almost invisible to other Americans.¹³

Dispensationalism

The present political-religious community that forms Reagan's white evangelical voting bloc is made up largely of fundamentalists and Pentecostals who are influenced by dispensationalism, the theology of fundamentalism. Dispensationalism was first preached to Americans in the years following the civil war by an Anglo-Irish sectarian named John Nelson Darby. Darby expected the Second Coming of Christ at any moment. He believed in a secret Rapture, when Christians would be swept up to meet Jesus in the air just before a period of terrible tribulation occurred, at the end of which time Jesus would return triumphant with his raptured saints to establish the Millennial Kingdom. Since the Rapture was ever imminent, dispensationalists tend to be driven by apocalyptic expectation. They are futurists, though classic dispensationalism insists on a balance between the eager expectation of ever imminent Rapture and the sobering realization that the Rapture might not occur until far into the future. Darby's theories about the Bible caught on in the United States. American dispensationalists began to organize prophecy conferences. The dispensationalist notes in the popular *Scofield Reference Bible* helped to spread and to legitimize dispensationalist interpretations of prophecy.

Dispensationalism takes its name from the periods, or "dispensations," into which Darby and his followers divided Bible and world history. Dispensationalists claim to be literal interpreters of the Bible and mark out their systems of cosmic history with time-lines. They characteristically make a sharp division between Israel and the church, tracing the separate cosmic careers of each throughout biblical history. Many American dispensationalists saw the establishment of Israel in 1948¹⁴ and the Israeli capture of Jerusalem in 1967 as sure signs that they were living in the last generation before the Second Coming of Christ. They see Israel, or "the Jew" as they sometimes say, as a kind of cosmic clock that shows what time it is on their biblical time-line.

Always looking towards the Second Coming of Christ, dispensationalists took on the "Great Commission" to preach the gospel to all peoples before Jesus returns.¹⁵ They became aggressive evangelists and pioneered the use of modern means of mass communications like radio and television. Now there are several international radio and television networks broadcasting dispensationalist doctrine around the world.

13. For further reading see E. R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1978), G.M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), and T. P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

14. Dispensationalists interpret Israel as the fig tree in Matthew 24:32-34: "Now learn a parable of the fig tree: When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh. So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors. Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled." They interpret the establishment of Israel in 1948 as the budding fig tree, and draw the conclusion that the generation that saw 1948 is the last generation.

15. The "Great Commission" is based on Matthew 24:14: "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come." Many dispensationalists believe that television and radio can "literally" fulfill the "Great Commission" by covering the earth with electronic preaching.

Fundamentalists and Pentecostals

Fundamentalists and Pentecostals, the two large groups of dispensationalist believers in the United States, have a contentious history. Fundamentalists believe that the age of miracles, of speaking in tongues, faith-healing, etc., ended with the apostolic times. The Pentecostals who are "dispensationalist" in their beliefs about prophecy interpret speaking in tongues, healings, and "prophesying in the Spirit," as signs that these are the last days. Some Pentecostals believe they have or are capable of receiving supernatural powers over natural processes. It is well publicized that Pat Robertson

claimed the power to divert a hurricane from his Virginia Beach headquarters.¹⁶

Though Pentecostals borrowed from fundamentalist theology, the two groups were often bitterly divided. Fundamentalists have sometimes even denounced Pentecostals for being possessed by Satan. Pentecostal inroads into the Catholic community since the mid-1960s and the so-called "mainline" Protestant denominations have tended to distance Pentecostals from their more exclusive fundamentalist brethren. Dispensationalists, fundamentalist and Pentecostal alike, have

¹⁶. See *Washington Post*, August 19 and October 18, 1985.

Christian Voice

Christian Voice is best known for distributing "biblical" report cards rating political candidates. In 1984 and 1986 Christian Voice distributed millions of full-color magazines, "Candidates Biblical Scoreboard," rating the candidates in state and national political contests. Their "biblical" scorecards were distributed freely in fundamentalist and Pentecostal churches throughout the United States. During the 1984 campaigns Christian Voice trained local ministers through video presentations and seminars in techniques for getting out the "right" vote without violating the law.

Colonel Doner (Colonel is his first name, not a military rank), one of the executive board members of Christian Voice, lectured during the 1984 campaign to ministers explaining how they could use their churches to "achieve political victory" by starting voter registration drives, "educating" their flocks, and making sure they went to the polls on election day. Doner suggested to pastors that they find out if their flocks are registered to vote by asking their congregations to fill out information cards or asking them during the service "to raise their hands and be honest before God" about their registration status. Doner aimed to register 20 million evangelicals. As Doner portrayed the 1984 election, the issue was "God versus Antichrist." He recommended that fundamentalist and Pentecostal churches hold several "voter registration Sundays." Pastors would distribute copies of a Christian Voice pamphlet entitled "Your Five Duties As A Christian Citizen" by Bill Bright, and set up voter registration tables in the rear of the church for the exiting congregation. Bright's pamphlet lists "electing godly people" as an important Christian political duty.

Doner also counseled pastors to educate their congregations with the Christian Voice report cards on "key moral issues." Christian Voice provided local churches individual report cards on local Congress members. He urged pastors to organize 30 or 40 members of their congregation to go out and distribute report cards to other churches (as Doner put it "everybody but Christian Science and Unitarians are okay" to go to). Finally pastors were trained by Christian Voice to run a voter turnout campaign. A week before election day pastors distributed more report cards. Then pastors tracked their people and organized telephone committees to call up parishioners to remind them to go out and vote.

Christian Voice was founded in California in 1976 under the name Citizens United and changed its name to Christian Voice in 1978. From its beginnings Christian Voice was tied to the presidential ambitions of Ronald Reagan. In 1980

George Otis was the honorary chairman of "Christians for Reagan," a Christian Voice political project. Otis had interviewed Reagan on his High Adventure TV show and allowed Christian Voice to use quotations from Reagan's interview. Reagan had told Otis that, yes, he had had a "born again" experience. Reagan had met Otis and his friend Harald Bredesen in the early 1960s when he auditioned to read from the Bible for Otis and Bredesen's tape company.

Even now the national advisory board of Christian Voice includes W. S. McBirnie, a California radio evangelist, who was one of Reagan's advisors in his first campaign for political office in 1965.¹ Hal Lindsey and Tim LaHaye are currently on the executive board of Christian Voice. Both Lindsey and LaHaye are dispensationalists who have written books about the imminent end of the world. In their books they foresee a coming Soviet invasion in the Middle East that sparks a terrible nuclear war that leaves the U.S.S.R. destroyed. They believe, though, that "Christians" like themselves will be "raptured" before the worst occurs—they will simply disappear and be translated to heaven to "the marriage feast of the Lamb" during a period of nuclear chaos on earth.

The organization has used some of the most vile and hateful political rhetoric in American politics and has specialized in gay-bashing and gay-baiting the Democratic Party. Christian Voice sent out promotional letters to supporters announcing an "EMERGENCY DISEASE ALERT" warning that AIDS might strike them down through an innocent goodnight kiss or from contamination of restaurant food. Christian Voice alluded in its hate literature to an enormous cover-up of the "imminent threat of the AIDS plague" that was threatening the lives of Americans. Among several draconian remedies, Christian Voice urged that gays be outlawed from working "in close contact with children, in the food service industry, in hospitals and clinics." Though legally "non-partisan" Christian Voice has been consistently opposed to Democratic candidates, portraying the Democratic Party as the party of "kiddie-porn" and "secular humanism."

Besides "report cards" and hate literature, Christian Voice has aired television specials, one, "America Betrays Her Children" featuring Ronald Reagan. Christian Voice has worked closely in cooperation with other new right organizations like Tim LaHaye's American Coalition for Traditional Values (ACTV).

¹. See "God is Phasing Out Democracy," in this issue

also been divided since Darby's day over the question of the timing of the Rapture. Some think it will occur before the "tribulation" period, others in the midst of it, still others do not think it will occur until after the "tribulation." These disputes have led to schisms in the past.

Pentecostalism spread among both Blacks and whites around the turn of the century and began as a lower-class, bi-racial movement characterized more by religious behavior than by theology. The fundamentalist movement, however, was a reaction of white Protestants against modernist criticism of scripture, and an apology for traditional theological positions. Fundamentalism was formulated as a reaction to liberal Protestantism, especially the acceptance of evolution in some interpretations of the biblical accounts of creation and new historical studies of the various books of the Bible. Dispensationalism evolved into the theology of fundamentalism during the course of the liberal/fundamentalist conflict around the turn of the century that came to a showdown in the mid-1920s.

Fundamentalists first became politically oriented after World War I. During the war years Christianity was identified with patriotism. After the Red Scare of 1919-21 fundamentalists became fiercely anti-communist. They saw revolution in Russia as another piece to their apocalyptic puzzle, and identified Russia with Magog, the invader of Israel prophesied by Ezekiel to appear in the latter days. Dispensationalist politics are still marked by their apocalyptic dualism and fierce anti-communism.¹⁷

After the fundamentalists' Pyrrhic victory at the famous "Monkey trial," where John Scopes was found guilty of teaching evolution in Tennessee (though later acquitted on appeal), the fundamentalist movement lost the battle of public opinion. In the late 1920s and during the early 1930s, many fundamentalists withdrew from the "mainstream" of American culture in an effort to maintain their religious purity and to construct a "godly" subculture of their own. Subjected to ridicule in the press by writers like H. L. Mencken and successfully stereotyped in Sinclair Lewis's novel *Elmer Gantry*, fundamentalists were abandoned by moderates and were taken less seriously by the wider public.

Fundamentalists turned their contentious politics inward and their coalition began to split up into competing groups lead by religious entrepreneurs and independent operators. Once they began to feud among themselves, fundamentalists lost the political influence they enjoyed after the Red Scare.¹⁸

Fundamentalism, sheltered in its evangelical ghetto, began to venture into the outside world just as the U.S. was entering

17. See Dwight Wilson, *Armageddon Now! The Premillenarian Response to Russia and Israel Since 1917* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1977).

18. There are signs now of increasing tensions within the evangelical coalition that makes up the new Christian Right. One of the points of contention is the Rapture. Jimmy Swaggart recently attacked Pat Robertson's "New Kingdom" teaching as similar to "the secular humanist philosophy," universally despised by Christian rightists. Post-tribbers like Robertson think of the "pre-trib" Rapture as an "escape theory" and preach instead that Christians working together can help usher in the Kingdom by taking political power and by organizing the last great revival. Swaggart preaches the pre-trib Rapture as doctrine. A recent book by David Hunt called *The Seduction of Christianity* has raised a furor in evangelical circles by accusing famous television evangelists like Robertson of dabbling in "New Age Movement" techniques. See *The Evangelist: The Voice of Jimmy Swaggart Ministries*, September 1986. In spite of Swaggart's initial misgivings, he has endorsed the presidential aspirations of Pat Robertson. See "Swaggart, in Reversal, Backs Robertson's Bid," *New York Times*, September 10, 1986.

the panic years of the Cold War. In the early 1950s, fundamentalist ideas, championed by Billy Graham, enjoyed a revival. The idea of the Rapture was a comfort to many Americans afraid nuclear war was imminent. The religious dualism of dispensationalism appealed to Americans encouraged by their government to see political realities in terms of a stark dualism between communism and anti-communism. Dispensationalist preachers promised that Christians would be raptured before the outbreak of nuclear tribulation. Many of them interpreted the invention of the bomb as a possible means by which the fiery destruction prophesied in *Revelations* might be "literally" fulfilled. They look forward to a cosmic showdown in the Middle East. Eventually, they believe, the Soviet Union will attempt to invade Israel but will be destroyed either by U.S. nuclear weapons or by God's direct intervention.

The new fundamentalist political coalition that emerged in the late 1970s grew out of the resentment conservative evangelicals felt over the outcome of the Vietnam war both in Vietnam and in the U.S. Eager to see signs of the end of the world around them, they interpreted the rash of open disrespect for authority, the drug use and counter-culture, as harbingers of the coming Antichrist. So-called "Jesus people" carried signs announcing imminent judgment. Dispensationalists interpreted the Israeli capture of Jerusalem in 1967 as the end of the times of the Gentiles.¹⁹ While they were busy expectantly reading "the signs of the times," they were also growing increasingly resentful and bitter over the consequences of the Vietnam war. Those feelings of resentment were deeply felt and festered throughout the 1970s. Finally in 1979 conservative evangelicals found a champion in Ronald Reagan. Organized by rightwing campaigners like Richard Viguerie, a new fundamentalist coalition was built.

By Their Fruits You Will Know Them

The Christian Right has become a mass movement, effectively organized and experienced in government. Their ambitions have grown with their growth as a movement. Pat Robertson toys with a presidential run while on the grass-roots level his political cadre are busily organizing local and state takeovers. Now the stakes are especially high. President Reagan has extended the arms race into the heavens. The weapons build-up threatens to slip out of control as all the treaties limiting weapons are abandoned. War in Central America seems ever more likely.

Nuclear weapons do not worry dispensationalists. Many believe they will be raptured before a nuclear war breaks out. Others, like Robertson, believe they will be especially protected by God during the "tribulation." War with the Evil Empire, globally or regionally in places like Central America, seems logical and even inevitable to their dualist mentality. *Realpolitik* for them can become an acting out of a cosmic battle between symbolic entities, the Evil Empire and godly America. Religiously inspired wars in the past were very bloody but modern weapons promise to make such wars even more terrible. A wild nuclear arms race, if not nuclear war, and spreading "low intensity warfare" in Central America and Southern Africa may become the bitter fruit of the apocalyptic mentality of the Christian Right.

19. Their interpretation is based on Luke 21:24: "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."

The Theology of Nuclear War

By Larry Kickham

Dispensationalists think they are living at the very end of the "Church Age" which they believe will culminate in the Rapture, when the members of the "true" church will be removed from the planet. After the seven-year tribulation period prophesied in the Bible, dispensationalists expect a one-thousand-year reign during which they will rule and reign with Jesus, the Millennium Kingdom.

Like many millenarians, dispensationalists are dualist in the way they look at the world and at history. They readily adopted a fierce anti-communism during the political scares of 1919-21 and the early 1950s. An old idea left over from John Cumming, a British apocalyptic writer during the Crimean war,¹ that Russia was Magog, the prophesied invader of Israel in the last days, spread among dispensationalists after the Russian Revolution in 1917. It seemed plausible to them that the officially atheist Soviet State could be "Magog," the prophesied invader of Israel in the last days (Ezekiel, chapters 38-39). "Gog" is the prince of Magog. In their interpretation of Ezekiel 38:2-3, "thus saith the Lord Jehovah; Behold, I am against thee, O Gog, Prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal," they identify "Rosh" as Russia, "Meshech" as Moscow and "Tubal" as the Soviet province of Tobolsk. Equating the Soviet Union with "Magog," dispensationalists became convinced that the Soviet Union was an evil empire that had a special mission in the last days.

Since Darby's time dispensationalists have also believed that Israel would be restored in the last days. Many dispensationalist believers interpreted the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 as a literal fulfillment of prophecy and an "infallible" sign that "this" was the last generation before the Second Coming of Christ. Believers have long interpreted events, especially in the Middle East, as pieces of prophecy coming together. The British capture of Jerusalem in World War I as well as the Israeli capture of old Jerusalem in 1967 were interpreted as signs of the last days.

Fond of reading the Bible as a key to current events, dispensationalists also read the invention of nuclear weapons in 1945 as a means of "literally" fulfilling Bible prophecy. The bomb, many thought, might be the device by which the elements will melt in the fiery apocalyptic vision of Revelation. Country and western songs like "Jesus Hits Like An Atom Bomb,"² and popular books like Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* helped spread the notion that nuclear weapons are somehow related to the Second Coming of Christ.

In 1983 Jerry Falwell attacked the nuclear freeze movement with a "prophecy packet" (two tapes and a pamphlet) entitled

"Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Christ." As Falwell states in his pamphlet, "the one brings thoughts of fear, destruction, and death while the other brings thoughts of joy, hope, and life. They almost seem inconsistent with one another. Yet, they are indelibly intertwined." Falwell, like many of his fellow dispensationalists, believes he will be raptured before nuclear war breaks out.

Tribulationism

Dispensationalists, however, are not all agreed as to the timing of the Rapture. There are three main positions on the question that cut across the greater division between fundamentalists and Pentecostals. Probably the majority, like Falwell, a fundamentalist, and Jimmy Swaggart, a Pentecostal, believe in a Rapture that will take place before the prophesied seven-year period of tribulation, the popular "pre-tribulationist" ("pre-trib") position. Others believe in a "mid-trib" Rapture that will rescue Christians from the worst of the tribulation, snatching them away before the nuclear "Gog-Magog" war which is supposed to occur sometime in the middle of the seven-year tribulation period. Others, like Pat Robertson, believe in a "post-trib" Rapture: Christians will have to go through the entire seven-year period of tribulation but will be especially protected by God, and at the end of the tribulation the Christians would be raptured to return with Jesus at the final battle of Armageddon. Adherents of all three positions agree that they, as the triumphant saints, will rule and reign with Jesus for a thousand years in the Millennial Kingdom they envision emerging in the near future. The nuclear war many of them foresee will not be the end of the world, but the prelude to a glorious one-thousand-year kingdom.

The divisions between pre-trib, mid-trib, and post-trib believers can sometimes influence views on matters of public policy and national defense and make for strange bedfellows. Mid-and post-tribbers who believe "Christians" will have to live through all or part of a seven-year "tribulation" are naturally more interested in survivalist skills, food cooperatives, and other forms of mutual aid, popular "end-time" economic theories, and civil defense schemes than are the pre-tribbers who think they will magically disappear before the prophesied bad times. Post-tribbers like Robertson believe that "Christians" should prepare for the tribulation by organizing food and other cooperative organizations. Mid- and post-tribbers share an interest in survivalism with racist "Identity" believers, the devotees of a rival theory of biblical prophecy who are training in paramilitary tactics, preparing for the racial "purging" they foresee after the inevitable nuclear war. Rightwing groups of rival persuasions can find a common bond in anticommunism and even work together on counter-insurgency projects. Paramilitary groups like Civilian Materiel Assistance (formerly Civilian Military Assistance) and those associated with *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, along with Robertson's CBN, support the *contras* in Honduras and have supplied aid to refugee groups on the Honduran border.

There has been friction between the various dispensationalist factions. Mid- and post-tribbers like Mary Relfe and Gary

1. Cumming, a preacher of the Scottish National Church, published two apocalyptic books in 1855, *Signs of the Times; Or the Present, Past, and Future*, published in Philadelphia, and *The End: The Proximate Signs of the Close of This Dispensation*, published in London. Cumming's books are cited and discussed in Dwight Wilson, *Armageddon Now! The Premillenarian Response to Russia and Israel Since 1917* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1977).

2. See the discussion in Charles Wolfe, "Nuclear Country: The Atomic Bomb in Country Music," *The Journal of Country Music*, Vol. IV (1978), Number 4, pp. 4-22.

Credit: UPI/Reuters



Jimmy Swaggart and Augusto Pinochet praise one another.

North have denounced the pre-trib theory as "defeatist." The post-trib theory, long considered pessimistic by old-line pre-tribbers, has won new followers. The upbeat "Kingdom Agers" believe that they will be especially protected by God during the "tribulation." The "Kingdom Age" theology Robertson presents in his book, *The Secret Kingdom*, emphasizes the gradual emergence of the Millennial Kingdom and a new theocratic world order. Robertson seems to believe that a Christian takeover of the American government may be part of that process and that Christians like Robertson will learn the skills they will need to manage the Kingdom "on the job" in positions of national responsibility.

One point all the tribbers can agree on is the need for a "strong defense"—even a first-strike capability. Most dispensationalists in the government probably do not take the debate between the "theologians" very seriously. All agree that these are the last days. And, for the most part, they agree to disagree. Most hope for a pre-trib Rapture, but many see the mid- and post-trib position as more "realistic." They leave the fine points of the dispute to the theologians.

What Does President Reagan Believe?

President Reagan has displayed a long-time interest, even a fascination, with biblical prophecies of the last days.³ Reagan believes that "this may be the last generation" before a nuclear war destroys the Soviet Union (the so-called Gog and Magog war) and before the Second Coming of Christ. Reagan, like many of his religious supporters, seems to be a dispensationalist. For Reagan, as for many other dispensationalists, the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 was a fulfillment of prophecy and a sign that Armageddon is not far off. Evidence of Reagan's interest in dispensationalist prophecy first appeared in print in 1968. Reagan told a reporter from a Christian magazine about a conversation he had had with his pastor Donn Moomaw about the "signs of the times." Reagan said:

We [the President and Billy Graham] got into a conversation about how many of the prophecies concerning the Second

³. See Lawrence Jones, "Reagan's Religion," *Journal of American Culture*, Vol. 8 (1985), pp. 59-70, for a summary of the evidence concerning Reagan's apocalyptic beliefs.

Coming seemed to be having their fulfillment at this particular time. Graham told me how world leaders who are students of the Bible and others who have studied it have come to this same conclusion—that apparently never in history have so many of the prophecies come true in such a relatively short time.

After the conversation I asked Donn to send me more material on prophecy so I could check them out in the Bible for myself. You know I was raised on the Bible. I also taught it for a long time in Sunday School.⁴

Reagan again referred to biblical prophecy in a radio program entitled "Palestine," broadcast during the weeks of April 9-27, 1979. He mentioned prophecy only in passing, saying:

⁴. W. Rose, "The Reagans and their Pastor," *Christian Life*, May 1968. Reagan taught Sunday School at the First Christian Church of Dixon, Illinois while he was in high school.

Some Definitions

An "evangelical" actively seeks to proselytize and convert others to his or her brand of Christianity, which may or may not be fundamentalist or Pentecostal.

"Fundamentalism" refers to a literal interpretation of the Bible and the application of that interpretation to all mundane matters. Fundamentalists can belong to a variety of denominations, including those originating in the "Pentecostal-Holiness" sects of the nineteenth century.

The word "Pentecostal" comes from the Greek name for a harvest celebration following the gathering of the wheat crop. It was one of the most joyous holidays on the ancient Jewish calendar. In the New Testament book of Acts, Chapter 2, the "Day of Pentecost" was when the disciples of Jesus received the "gifts of the Holy Spirit" as a promise that Christ would return to earth.

Modern-day Pentecostals, in contrast to Baptist fundamentalists, believe that these "gifts"—the ability to prophesy, perform healing miracles, and speak in tongues—were intended for all Christians, not just for those living during Christ's time on earth. The "gifts" are also known as "charismata;" hence the term "charismatic" is interchangeable with the terms "spirit-filled" and "neo-Pentecostal," used to describe post-World War II Pentecostals.

The practice of "speaking in tongues," also known as glossolalia, is the most distinguishing feature of Pentecostalism. In a state of fervent prayer, believers utter strings of unintelligible syllables considered by charismatics to have a deep spiritual significance. (Psychologists and sociologists have described glossolalia as a learned, cross-cultural psycholinguistic behavior to which religious meaning is attached.)

Just as the word "Pentecostal" is derived from the metaphor of the harvest, so is the term "Latter Rain." The pre-Christian Israelites prayed for a "former rain" to make their seeds germinate and a "latter rain" to make their crops mature just before harvest time. Pentecostals believe that in these "last days" before Christ's Second Coming, God is symbolically pouring out this "latter rain" in the form of miracles as a call for "His People" to intensify their evangelistic efforts.

When Israel was created as a nation (carrying out a centuries old Bible propheey) its borders enelosed less than 20 percent of the area ealled Palestine.

Reagan also spoke about dispensationalist propheees of Armageddon with Jerry Falwell during the 1980 presidential campaign. According to Falwell, they discussed propheey during a limousine ride in New Orleans:

He told me, back in New Orleans—we were riding together, just thé two of us, security officer up front, of course, with the driver—we were riding and he said, "Jerry, I sometimes believe we're heading very fast for Armageddon right now." But he said, "I am not a fatalist. I believe in human responsibility. I believe that God will respect us for making all-out efforts toward world peace, and that is where my commitment lies."

That's where my commitment lies, too. The President is a man of great faith. He's a man who knows what the Bible has to say. That is why I trust him so implieitly.⁵

Reagan brought up the subject of biblical prophecy of the end of the world again at a meeting with the Antiochian Orthodox Metropolitan Philip in the White House on April 7, 1983. According to the report of the meeting, "The President alluded to the Bible and the prophecies of Armageddon. He mentioned the natural disasters that the entire world was suffering and has suffered of late, and felt all these happenings were warnings that should be heeded for the avoidance of that doom."⁶

Reagan is not the only one in his administration who sees current events in terms of end-time prophecies. Secretary of Defense Weinberger has also been quoted on the subject:

I have read the Book of Revelation and, yes, I believe the world is going to end—by an act of God, I hope—but every day I think that time is running out.

Q: Are you scared?

Weinberger: I worry that we will not have enough time to get strong enough to prevent nuclear war. I think of World War II and how long it took to prepare for it, to convince people that rearmament for war was needed. I fear we will not be ready. I think time is running out...but I have faith.⁷

Senator Howell Heflin, Demoerat from Alabama, reported a conversation with Reagan about the end-times and an Armageddon that involves the Soviet Union.

We got off into the Bible a little bit. We were talking about the fact that the Middle East, according to the Bible, would be the place where Armageddon would start. The President was talking to me about the Scriptures and I was talking a little to him about the Scriptures. He interprets the Bible and Armageddon to mean that Russia is going to get involved in it.⁸

5. From an interview Falwell had with Robert Scheer, *Los Angeles Times*, March 4, 1981.

6. From *The Word*, Antiochian Orthodox Christian Diocese of North America, June 1983.

7. "Washington Talk," *New York Times*, August 23, 1982.

8. *New York Times*, October 28, 1981.

Only days before American Marines were killed in a bombing attaek on their Beirut barracks Reagan told Tom Dine, executive director of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), that he saw the world situation in terms of end-time prophecies:

You know, I turn back to your ancient prophets in the Old Testament and the signs foretelling Armageddon, and I find myself wondering if—if we're the generation that's going to see that come about. I don't know if you've noted any of those prophecies lately, but believe me, they certainly describe the times we're going through.⁹

Reagan's comments to Dine later inspired two reporters from *People* magazine to ask the President to explain his remarks:

I've never done that publicly [talked about Armageddon, etc.]. I have talked here, and then I wrote people, because some theologians quite some time ago were telling me, calling attention to the fact that theologians have been studying the ancient prophecies—what would portend the coming of Armageddon?—and have said that never, in the time between the prophecies up until now has there ever been a time in which so many of the prophecies are coming together. There have been times in the past when people thought the end of the world was coming, and so forth, but never anything like this.

And one of them, the first one who ever broached this to me—and I won't use his name,¹⁰ I don't have permission to. He probably would give it, but I'm not going to ask—I had held a meeting with the then head of the German government, years ago when the war was over, and did not know that his hobby was theology. And he asked this theologian what did he think was the next great news event, worldwide. And the theologian, very wisely, said, "Well, I think that you're asking that question in a case that you've had a thought along that line." And he did. It was about the prophecies and so forth.

So no. I've talked eonversationally about that.

Q: You've mused on it. You've considered it.

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) Not to the extent of throwing up my hands and saying, "Well, it's all over." No. I think whiehever generation and at whatever time, when the time comes, the generation that is there, I think will have it go on doing what they believe is right.

Q: Even if it comes?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.¹¹

The prophecy issue surfaced during the 1986 campaign debates when one of the reporters on the debate panel asked Reagan to explain his statements about "nuclear Armageddon":

9. *Jerusalem Post*, October 28, 1983. Reagan had this telephone conversation with Dine on October 18, 1983.

10. The theologian Reagan here alludes to is Billy Graham and the German leader is Konrad Adenauer. Reagan told the same story to the Boones, Otis, Bredesen, and Ellingwood during their conversation in 1970 about prophecy and the soon Second Coming of Christ. See Jones, *op. cit.*, n. 3.

11. An interview with Garry Clifford and Patricia Ryan of *People* magazine on December 6, 1983. Transcript published in *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, 1983, pp. 1708-1713. An edited version of the interview appeared in *People*, December 26, 1983. See Jones, *op. cit.*, n. 3.

Q: Mr. President, I'd like to pick up this Armageddon theme. You've been quoted as saying that you believe deep down that we are heading for some kind of biblical Armageddon. Your Pentagon and your Secretary of Defense have plans for the United States to fight and prevail in a nu-

clear war. Do you feel that we are heading, perhaps, for some kind of nuclear Armageddon? And do you feel that this country and the world could survive that kind of calamity?

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Kalb, I think what has been hailed as something I'm supposedly, as President, discussing as

Campus Crusade for Christ

Campus Crusade for Christ, now a world-wide organization with revenues over \$100 million, began in 1951 in Los Angeles on the U.C.L.A. campus. Founded by Bill Bright, a dapper "fancy foods" businessman turned evangelist, Campus Crusade grew up out of a circle of young men who gathered around the dynamic Henrietta Mears of Hollywood Presbyterian Church. Known as "Teacher" by several generations of new leaders in the evangelical movement, Mears had a powerful influence on Bright and on Billy Graham.

Inspired by Mears and based at her palatial home in Bel Air near the college campus, Campus Crusade was launched among the fraternities and sororities and the athletes of U.C.L.A. An early convert was all-American linebacker Donn Moomaw, who later became Reagan's pastor.

Mears, whose Sunday school numbered 6,000 members, launched a revival in 1947 among her "college department" at the Hollywood Presbyterian Church. It was one of many revivals which took place among American evangelicals during the early years of the Cold War.¹ Mears had travelled around the post-war world and told her students that "there must be a Christian answer to the growing menace of communism" and called for total commitment from a new generation of evangelicals who would become "expedables for Christ"² in the struggle against communism. Mears, a dispensationalist, was also convinced the end of the world was near. A small group of young men, including Bill Bright and Louis H. Evans, Jr., now pastor of the Presbyterian National Cathedral in Washington, met in Mears's cabin to pray, weep, and cry out to the Lord. According to the accounts, God answered their prayer with a vision: The college campuses were the key to world leadership and world revival.³ A notice the little group put up announced the last days, when "saith God, I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh."

In 1949 Mears helped launch Billy Graham's career. She saw to it that some 5,000 of the 7,000 strong Hollywood Presbyterian Church turned out to attend Graham's Los Angeles crusade. Mears also organized a telephone campaign with her student helpers to call everyone listed in the L.A. telephone directory and invite them to the Graham crusade. Only after Mears's efforts did William Randolph Hearst send the famous telegram to his newspaper reporters: "Puff Graham."

1. For an account of this one must go to a master's thesis by Richard M. Riss, "The Latter Rain Movement of 1948 and the Mid-Twentieth Century Evangelical Awakening," Regent College, Vancouver, B.C., 1979.

2. E.M. Baldwin & D.V. Benson, *Henrietta Mears and How She Did It!* (Glendale, California: Gospel Light Publications, 1966), p.231.

3. *Ibid.*, pp.232-3.

Although Mears was partly motivated by her dread of communism, she self-consciously took over communist methods of organization—"the cell—a small group of committed individuals working for the conversion of one other person." Mears was a consummate organizer, as she explained, "We have in our department a system of triangles: Two Christian students write their names on two sides of a triangle. On the third side they write the name of a non-Christian friend, for whom they pray. As they witness to that friend and he accepts Christ, they bring him into the triangle," etc. The system Mears organized was self-generating. Each new convert became a member of a new cell which began work on another "non-Christian friend." Bright's Campus Crusade has continued the Mears techniques and refined them.

Campus Crusade targeted the U.C.-Berkeley campus for saturation evangelism in 1967 in an effort to break up the anti-war movement there. From Berkeley, Campus Crusaders went on to hold "alternate" rallies in competition with anti-war protests at other campuses. Bright first met Ronald Reagan during the Vietnam war years when he was governor of California. Reagan at the time called for a "bloodbath" against anti-war protesters. Reagan and Bright became personal friends. Bright had known Reagan's deeply religious mother Nell when he was a member of Henrietta Mears's group in the late 1940s and early 1950s. It was Bright who asked Reagan to declare 1983 "The Year of the Bible."

Bill Bright, like his teacher Mears, is a dispensationalist who believes that "this" may be the last generation before the Second Coming of Christ. Bright's Campus Crusade is committed to do no less than "fulfill the great Commission in our generation"—that is, to evangelize the world in one "last" generation. Hal Lindsey, who reads nuclear war into the book of Revelation, started out working for Campus Crusade at Berkeley. Campus Crusade has always had a quasi-political cast, as its name suggests, and has always been motivated by a fierce anti-communism. Though the organization claims to be interdenominational, dispensationalism is the basic ideology of Campus Crusade. The global dualism which sees nothing at play in world politics except the United States and a Communist monolith fit easily into the apocalyptic dualism of dispensationalism and is a key element of Campus Crusade ideology.

Today, Campus Crusade is international, having operations in 149 countries, but still is strongest on United States college campuses with more than 700 campuses involved and is expanding its outreach into high schools. Campus Crusade includes a military ministry, an aggressive high-school ministry, and many other projects here and abroad.

principle is the result of just some philosophical discussions with people who are interested in the same things. And that is the prophecies down through the years, the biblical prophecies of what would portend the coming of Armageddon and so forth. And the fact is that a number of

theologians for the last decade or more have believed that this was true, that the prophecies are coming together that portend that. But no one knows whether Armageddon—those prophecies—mean that Armageddon is a thousand years away or the day after tomorrow. So I have

Credit: Charisma



Southern California for Jesus participants Pat Robertson, John Gimenez, Bill Bright, and Demos Shakarian.

From its beginning Campus Crusade has targeted leaders and has now expanded its pursuit of leaders far beyond the college campuses into Washington, D.C. and the United Nations through "Christian Embassies." Campus Crusade's Christian Embassy in Washington has organized Bible studies in the Pentagon, including one for generals and admirals, as well as Bible studies, meetings, dinners, and conferences for administration appointees, retreats for government and military leaders, and Bible study groups for Senators and Members of Congress. Staffers of Christian Embassy also hold weekly Bible study for the wives of cabinet members.

Nelson Bunker Hunt has been a firm backer of the organization.⁴ Hunt serves on a Campus Crusade executive committee along with Roy Rogers, the millionaire cowboy actor and restaurateur, and Wallace Johnson, co-founder of Holiday Inns. Hunt's committee raised enormous sums for Campus Crusade campaigns, training centers, and religious broadcasting. One of Hunt's sons underwrote the Campus Crusade movie "Jesus," which Campus Crusade often broadcasts in villages in Central America.

Campus Crusade is heavily invested in ministries in Central America, Africa, and Southeast Asia, on the front-lines of American global interests. In the 1980s Campus Crusade began producing and broadcasting a number of radio and television programs in Central and South America. In Honduras, Campus Crusade has had an outreach to the Miskito Indians on the Atlantic coast since 1981. Campus Crusade has a training school for evangelists in Cuernavaca, Mexico and smaller training centers including one in Guatemala. The organization's campus ministries are aggressively anti-communist and political in tone. Sometimes Campus Crusaders launch "blitz cam-

paigns," putting up posters overnight and invading classrooms with evangelistic talks the next morning.⁵

Jimmy Hassan was the national director of Campus Crusade in Nicaragua from 1982 until 1985. In November 1985 he was interrogated by Sandinista officials who suspected him of working with the C.I.A. In particular, he was accused of participating in a campaign to induce resistance to Nicaragua's draft laws, of operating an illegal press, and of entering the country with large, undeclared sums of money. Hassan was detained for four hours, and, following his release, fled to the United States, denying all the charges.⁶ Since then he has toured the United States speaking to American evangelicals about religious repression in Nicaragua, serving as a showpiece for U.S. evangelicals seeking to prove that Nicaragua is a "totalitarian dungeon." Hassan has delivered his testimony on Pat Robertson's "700 Club," at a joint Institute for Religion and Democracy-National Association of Evangelicals press conference in Washington D.C. February 3, 1986, and at the annual convention of the Coalition on Revival, July 3, 1986.

Hassan's press agent and translator is José González Souza, described by the IRD as a "Uruguayan labor organizer." González runs his own nominal organization, Semilla (the Spanish word for seed) based in the Chesapeake, Virginia, office of Pat Robertson's National Perspectives Institute. González, a former graduate student at CBN University, says CBN has given him a small start-up grant and free office space to "train and organize" Christian leaders throughout the hemisphere.

Campus Crusade's corporate task is to fulfill the "Great Commission" (Matthew 28:18-20)—to evangelize the world in this, "the last" generation. The organization has ambition plans for the year 2000. In 1984 Campus Crusade announced a new project, Movement 2000. By 2000, Campus Crusade is planning to expand to every one of the 3,200 college campuses, on all 200 U.S. military bases, at 3,900 high schools, in 50 inner city projects, in all 44 federal prisons, in 250 major cities, "and more." In 1985 Campus Crusade began experimenting with satellite video "conferences." The event, Explo 85, linked up audiences in 54 countries. During the four day event Bright traveled to South Korea, the Philippines, West Berlin, and Mexico City to deliver keynote addresses. Campus Crusade is planning an even larger satellite conference in 1990. Campus Crusade, like other dispensationalist organizations, will work ever more feverishly as the year 2000 approaches because they believe the end is near. Bright dreams of 5 million, then 50 million disciplined recruits working under his direction to bring in the "last harvest."⁷ ●

5. "1981 Annual Report: The Latin American Ministry Campus Crusade for Christ."

6. See *El Nuevo Diario*, November 29, 1985.

7. "Helping Reach the World for Christ," the 1984 annual report of Campus Crusade for Christ Inc.

4. "He Knows a Good Investment," *Worldwide*, May 1980.

Credit: German Press Agency



President Reagan ponders the world situation.

never seriously warned and said we must plan according to Armageddon.¹²

Reagan's remark that the prophesied events might not happen "the day after tomorrow" or until long into the future is characteristic of dispensationalism. Billy Graham has said essentially the same thing in a copy of his magazine *Decision*. There he wrote, "It seems like all the signs are pointing to Armageddon. The storm clouds are gathering, the lightning is flashing, the thunder is roaring. The great Armageddon could be now or a hundred years from now. We don't know." Falwell, too, is of the same opinion, as he says in his tape *Nuclear War and the Second Coming of Christ*, "I am living as though Jesus were coming today. But I am planning and laboring and working as though I had another 25 or 50 years. I think that is the proper posture for a believer."¹³

Reagan's interest in end-time prophecies, as is clear from his own remarks, goes back at least to 1968, when he discussed it with his pastor Donn Moomaw. Like Henrietta Mears and Billy Graham in the 1950s, Reagan was disposed to see Communism in religious terms. He also apparently shared the dispensationalist beliefs about God's plan of unfolding prophecy in the Middle East. In 1971 when Reagan was still Governor of California he talked more about the end of the world with the president *pro tem* of the California State Senate, James Mills. Mills wrote up his notes and recollections of that conversation in 1985. According to Mills, Reagan excitedly told him that:

It can't be long now. Ezekiel says that fire and brimstone will be rained upon the enemies of God's people. That must mean that they'll be destroyed by nuclear weapons. They exist now, and they never did in the past.¹⁴

According to Mills, Reagan went on to identify "the enemies of God," the prophesied invader of Israel, "Gog," with the Soviet Union:

12. From the debate held on October 21, 1984, transcript published in the *New York Times*, October 22, 1984.

13. From *Decision*, April 1983. See Jones, *op. cit.*, n. 3, at note 68.

14. James Mills, "The Serious Implications of a 1971 Conversation with Ronald Reagan," *San Diego Magazine*, August 1985.

Ezekiel tells us that Gog [sic], the nation that will lead all of the powers of darkness against Israel, will come out of the north. Biblical scholars have been saying for generations that Gog must be Russia. What other powerful nation is to the north of Israel? None. But it didn't seem to make sense before the Russian revolution, when Russia was a Christian country. Now it does, now that Russia has become communistic and atheistic, now that Russia has set itself against God.

Now it fits the description of Gog perfectly.¹⁵

Conclusion

In 1985, looking back on that conversation with Reagan, Mills concluded that his "coolness to all proposals for nuclear disarmament" are consistent with his apocalyptic views. Certainly the arms race speeded up significantly under Reagan and has threatened to run away out of control as the U.S. begins to deploy a first-strike arsenal. The D-5 or Trident II missiles to be deployed in 1989 are accurate enough to destroy hard targets¹⁶ and, like the MX (the so-called Peackeeper), these missiles can be used in a first strike against hardened enemy missile silos. "Starwars" is not likely to work well as a shield from a theoretical Soviet first-strike but may be adequate to partially shield American targets from a Soviet second strike.

Reagan has refused to agree to a nuclear test ban. No arms control proposals were agreed to under the Reagan administration and the nuclear arms race has spread to space.

With first-strike arsenals in place, the balance of terror will become unstable. Some American analysts fear that the Soviet Union will adopt a launch-on-warning strategy and begin to deploy its own versions of the "Peacekeeper" and Trident II missiles. If both arsenals are set at launch on warning the two war machines will be on a hair-trigger.

Apocalyptic ideas might be the wild-card in the nuclear poker game. An American President who believes that nuclear war with the Soviet Union is inevitable because of biblical prophecy might make building a first-strike arsenal the chief national priority. A severe crisis in the Middle East could be interpreted by a dispensationalist President as the beginning of the prophesied Gog and Magog war.

Reagan seems to see contemporary world events, especially those in the Middle East, through the lens of popular dispensationalism. He has read Hal Lindsey's apocalyptic best-seller *The Late Great Planet Earth*.¹⁷ Another Arab-Israeli war could appear to a true believer as the opening salvos of the Gog and Magog war. If Reagan is a true believer he might respond to such a tense situation by launching a first strike against the Soviet Union, especially if the Israelis seemed to be in danger of suffering defeat on the battlefield. Would President Pat Robertson hear a voice telling him to act as the tool of God's destruction and rain nuclear fire down on "Magog"? It wouldn't be the first time that apocalyptic ideas led to war but it could well be the last.

15. *Ibid.* Reagan means Magog, the empire, rather than Gog, the prince, although dispensationalist writings often use the terms interchangeably.

16. "Trident Subs, Silent, Elusive and Deadly. Change Nuclear Game," *Wall Street Journal*, July 28, 1986.

17. According to Herb Ellingwood, who said he gave Reagan a copy of Lindsey's book, among other material, from an interview with Ellingwood, June 15, 1978, quoted in part in the radio documentary "Ronald Reagan and the Prophecy of Armageddon." See Jones, *op. cit.*, n. 3.

The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI)

The seed money for several of the television evangelists including Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN), Jim Bakker's Praise The Lord (PTL), and Paul Crouch's Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), has come from members of the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI), a Pentecostal organization of business and military men. The FGBMFI began in 1952 with a small group of businessmen who met for breakfast at Clifton's Cafeteria in downtown Los Angeles. It was organized and initially funded by Demos Shakarian, a prominent southern California dairyman whose father had emigrated from Armenia to southern California in 1905. Shakarian was motivated by a vision of world-wide revival which he thought would herald the imminent return of Jesus Christ.

¹ Quoted in *Charisma*, June 1986, pp. 32, 24.



MILITARY PRAYER BREAKFAST 33rd WORLD CONVENTION FULL GOSPEL BUSINESS MEN'S FELLOWSHIP INTERNATIONAL



SATURDAY JULY 12, 1986 at 0800
MARRIOTT
ORLANDO WORLD CENTER

The Clifton meeting included Oral Roberts, who spoke for 20 minutes and closed with a prayer: "Lord Jesus, let this fellowship grow in Your strength alone. Send it marching across the world. We give You thanks right now that we see a thousand chapters."¹ Since that day in 1952 the FGBMFI has organized some 600,000 men worldwide into local chapters in 92 countries. Full Gospel includes a number of right-wing activists like Joseph Coors, who is a trustee of the Heritage Foundation and a member of CBN University board of regents.

Full Gospel businessmen are enthusiastic worshipers, pray in tongues, and practice faith-healing. The organization is non-denominational and includes Catholic charismatics, who also pray in tongues, as well as Protestant Pentecostal groups, and Protestant charismatics who are members of historical Protestant churches. Besides their common focus on Jesus and the "baptism of the Holy Spirit"—when believers are said to be filled with the Holy Spirit and begin to speak in tongues—Full Gospel businessmen also generally agree that they now are living in the last days. Many are dispensationalists. They believe that the FGBMFI has been called to help organize the final harvest, the prelude to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.

The fellowship defines "businessmen" loosely and includes a large number of military men as well as businessmen, tradesmen, and their families. Besides the regular local chapter meetings, FGBMFI holds regional conventions, annual world conventions, and publishes books, pamphlets and an international magazine, *The Voice*. FGBMFI also airs "Good News!" programs over Christian networks like Jim Bakker's PTL network and the California-based TBN, and over independent radio and television stations.

The FGBMFI men meet regularly to share their personal "testimonies," and explaining how they "came to know Jesus" and how they received "the Baptism in the Holy Spirit." FGBMFI chapters meet for prayer breakfasts and banquets where speakers give their testimonies, the group prays in tongues and praises Jesus. In some parts of the country, particularly in the sunbelt states, some FGBMFI chapters are made up largely of the men who manage the military-industrial complex.

President Reagan has close ties with the FGBMFI. There have been a number of FGBMFI members in the Reagan Administration. Among them are James Watt, former Secretary of the Interior, and Herbert Ellingwood, formerly the head of the Federal Merit Systems Protection Board, and an assistant to the Attorney General, now working full time for Pat Robertson's presidential campaign. Ten years before Reagan was elected President, Ellingwood, along with four other Full Gospel activists, prayed with him, then Governor of California, and witnessed a dramatic prophecy that Reagan would become

President ("reside in 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue") if he continued to walk in God's way. According to reports of people close to Reagan, the President took that prophecy and its subsequent fulfillment very seriously.

The prophecy took place on September 20, 1970 in Reagan's Sacramento home. George Otis,² a FGBMFI leader and frequent speaker at Full Gospel events, and a former Lear executive, (he worked on the climate control systems for the Minute Man missiles at Vandenberg Air Force base), and later head of his own aero-space contracting business, pronounced the prophecy after he became "filled with the Spirit." Reagan's friends Pat and Shirley Boone, both active in FGBMFI, had flown to Sacramento from a FGBMFI convention in Palm Springs. The Boones introduced Reagan to their Full Gospel friends George Otis and Harald Bredesen.

Bredesen had been a long-time activist in the so-called charismatic movement, the spread of Pentecostal practices into non-Pentecostal churches. He had a long association with FGBMFI, and has been a frequent speaker at Full Gospel meetings. A student pastor under Bredesen in the early 1960s, Pat Robertson, was later to establish the Christian Broadcasting Network by canvassing on the air and by raising seed money among sympathetic Full Gospel businessmen. Bredesen has been a member of the board of directors of Robertson's CBN since its beginning in 1962. Bredesen introduced Robertson at his September 1986 televised rally when the televangelist unofficially kicked off his campaign for President.

Reagan, the Boones, Otis, and Bredesen spent that September afternoon in 1970 talking about biblical prophecy of the last days and the Second Coming of Christ. After their talk they formed a circle, held hands, and began to pray. Otis was suddenly overcome "with the Spirit" and began to speak in the voice of God, addressing Reagan as "My son," and after comparing him with a king, Otis told him he would "reside at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue" if Reagan continued to "walk in My ways."

Otis, like many Full Gospel businessmen, is fascinated with prophecy and the Second Coming of Christ. He is sure that we are living in the last days. Otis now operates a short-wave radio ministry called High Adventure with the four "Voice of Hope" stations in Israeli-occupied Lebanon ("broadcasting from the Armageddon bowl"), and another in southern California, broadcasting in Spanish to the western hemisphere. As a High Adventure brochure put it: "Super Powered Christian Radio Station Can Push the Communists From Our Back Door!" Otis also built Middle East Television but gave his TV station in the "Armageddon bowl" to Pat Robertson's CBN. Both Middle East

2. Otis has written a number of books that document his career. His religious autobiography, *High Adventure* (Van Nuys, California: Bible Voice Books, 1971), describes the meeting with Reagan. Otis wrote another book entitled *Voice of Hope* (Van Nuys, California: High Adventure Ministries, 1983) which describes his radio stations in occupied Lebanon and his close relationships with Phalange leaders like Sa'ad Haddad. Otis has also written extensively about the dispensationalist scenario for the end of the world which he believes will be touched off by a war in the Middle East. For his views on the end of the world see his books *The Ghost of Hagar* (Van Nuys, California: Time-Light Books, 1974) and *Millennium Man* (Van Nuys, California: Bible Voice, Inc., 1974). And see CAIB, Number 18 (Winter 1983), pp. 64-65.

Television and Otis's Voice of Hope radio stations have been targets of bombing attacks. Otis worked closely in Lebanon with phalangist leader Major Sa'ad Haddad, his successor General Antoine Lahad, and the Israeli military authorities. Otis, like many American dispensationalists, believes that a Soviet invasion of Israel is imminent. He thinks the next Arab-Israeli war could touch off a nuclear showdown between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. culminating in the so-called Gog-Magog war prophesied in Ezekiel and imagined by Otis and other dispensationalists as a super-power nuclear war.

Many members of the FGBMFI hold responsible positions in military industries and in the nuclear chain of command. Some like Sanford McDonnell,³ chairman of the board of McDonnell Douglas Corporation, help control the high-tech military industries that build the strategic arsenal of the U.S. The FGBMFI has several military chapters and holds regular military prayer breakfasts. General John Vessey, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, spoke at a San Antonio, Texas FGBMFI military breakfast in 1985.⁴ Many active members of FGBMFI are involved with the military, many are ex-officers, some with experience working with nuclear weapons systems, who now work on the civilian side of the military-industrial complex. Few have any fear of nuclear war. Many believe they will be raptured before war breaks out.

The idea that a network of key workers in the military-industrial complex, along with others who are key decision makers in the nuclear chain of command, may all be apocalyptic in their expectations of the near future is unsettling. No one wants to take it very seriously because no one wants to believe it. But more and more evidence suggests that prophecy and apocalyptic expectations are rife within the nuclear weapons establishment. Such ideas are popular among the people who assemble nuclear weapons at the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas.⁵

During the Reagan years dispensationalist prayer groups honeycombed Washington, D.C. Hundreds of Bible study groups and prayer meetings were organized by lay evangelists like Herbert Ellingwood, Reagan's friend and long time aide, and by other religious activists in the Reagan Administration. The Christian Embassy, an offshoot of Campus Crusade for Christ, organized bible study groups for flag officers in the Pentagon, for Members of Congress and their aides, for administration appointees, and for the wives of cabinet members.⁶

The FGBMFI has three chapters in the Washington area, one at the Navy Officers Club in the Navy Yard.⁷ Dispensationalism, with its fascination with prophecies of the Second Coming of Christ, is the dominant theology in many of these Washington prayer groups.

The FGBMFI has held regular military prayer breakfasts since 1964. Pat Robertson and his mentor Harald Bredesen

3. *The Full Gospel Business Voice*, August 1986.

4. *Ibid.*, August 1985.

5. See A.G. Mojtabai, *Blessed Assurance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980).

6. From *The Christian Embassy Update*, Summer 1983.

7. From the 1986-87 FGBMFI World Chapter Directory, published by the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, P.O. Box 5050, Costa Mesa, CA 92628.

have preached at FGBMFI military prayer breakfasts.⁸ A recent FGBMFI pamphlet outlines the scope of the influence the Full Gospel organization enjoys in Reagan's Washington:

The Secretary of Defense who built us two prayer rooms in the Pentagon; Lieutenant General Dick Shaefer, Colonel Speed Wilson, Colonel Hank Lackey; the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the Commandant of the Marine Corps; the Chief of Naval Operations; Major General Jim Freeze, Major General Jerry Curry, Colonel Andy Anderson; the Chief of Staff of the Army; the Chief of Staff of the Air Force; Sergeant Major Bud Nairn and First Lieutenant David Nairn, Brigadier General Charles Duke...the lists of military men and women who have been vitally affected by these Military Prayer Breakfasts go on and on.⁹

Major General Jerry Curry was a featured participant at the 1977 FGBMFI World Convention and is currently a member of the board of regents of CBN University. Lt. Gen. Dick Shaefer, who spoke at the FGBMFI regional convention in Washington, D.C. in February 1986, served for 35 years in the military, including 10 years as general. He was the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force in Europe, Chief of Plans in Vietnam, Deputy Director for Plans and Policy for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Chief of Operations for NATO's Allied Command in Europe, and Deputy Chairman of the NATO Military Committee.

Reagan himself, at the top of the nuclear chain of command, has given his "testimony" at Full Gospel meetings. Reagan even credited a Full Gospel prayer group for "instantly" healing his ulcers during his term as governor of California.¹⁰

There is evidence from Reagan's own mouth that he believes in the dispensationalist scenario of a superpower nuclear war. (See "The Theology of Nuclear War," in this issue.)

The influence of FGBMFI extends throughout the world. Full Gospel businessmen regularly organize "airlifts"—members fly at their own expense to target countries like Haiti or South Africa. There they organize breakfasts and banquets and spread their version of the gospel to national elites. As one FGBMFI pamphlet proclaims, "The harvest is ready...and so are we!" FGBMFI members believe the end is coming soon and the FGBMFI has been called to help organize the last great revival before the Second Coming of Christ. As John Carrette, a Guatemalan businessman and FGBMFI member, prayed at the 1986 FGBMFI World Convention, addressing God:

8. Robertson and Bredesen have spoken at Full Gospel military prayer breakfasts since 1972 when they attended one in Buffalo, New York. One of the speakers at that meeting was General Ralph E. Haines, the Commanding General of the Continental Army Command, who received the "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" at the meeting.

9. From the leaflet handed out at the Military Prayer Breakfast, July 12, 1986 at the 33rd World Convention of the FGBMFI.

10. "Reagan Was Healed of Ulcers by Prayer Group, Ex-Aide Says." *Los Angeles Times*, July 15, 1978. The *L.A. Times* confirmed the story with Reagan. The ex-aide who reported the story was Herbert Ellingwood, who later served the Reagan Administration in Washington. See Lawrence Jones, "Reagan's Religion," *Journal of American Culture*, Winter 1985, n. 37, for Ellingwood's description of the healing.

We know that you're bringing forth world-wide revival even now as we speak and it's your will that that be. It's your time that that be and this is the organization that you have called to provoke the world-wide revival in these end-times.

General Ríos Montt, who became the president of Guatemala in an army coup, is a member of a Pentecostal church and was aided and supported by Full Gospel businessmen like John Carrette, a former Army Ranger in Vietnam. According to Carrette, the current presidents of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras are all Full Gospel. Ríos Montt, after he was deposed from the presidency in another coup, toured the United States speaking to Pentecostal and charismatic audiences. The former military dictator addressed the FGBMFI world convention in 1984.

The FGBMFI has been very active in those parts of the world where the U.S. has strong interests, or where the U.S. is fearful of revolution or Soviet influence. In January 1986 the FGBMFI sent an "airlift" to the Philippines where the Full Gospel businessmen toured schools, plants, factories, and military bases. Other 1986 airlifts were scheduled for El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Mexico, and South Africa.

In view of the significant proportion of members from the military-industrial establishment, some members of the FGBMFI may have other motivations than their desire to spread the gospel around the world. The Fellowship, like many other evangelical organizations, has become highly politicized. In 1986, at the FGBMFI world convention canvassers collected the signatures and addresses of potential supporters for Pat Robertson's presidential campaign. As at many evangelical gatherings, rightwing political causes are freely mixed with the gospel at FGBMFI conventions. A political agenda may play a key role in some FGBMFI work for "the last great revival."



Credit: FGBMFI

General Ralph E. Haines, Jr., Honorary Chairman of FGBMFI and "spiritual leader" of the Continental Army .

Shock Troops of the Christian Right:

Shepherding

By Sara Diamond*

"You stop preaching the Gospel and nations fall."
—Dennis Peacocke, Oct. 12, 1983

These words, on a small scrap of paper, are pinned to the entryway bulletin board at 740 Mendocino Ave. in Santa Rosa, California, home of His Name Ministries. To an outside observer, these words may seem meaningless—torn from the pages of some unknown preacher's Sunday sermon notes. But to thousands of Christians in "shepherding" churches, these words from a leading Christian Right strategist, epitomize the global vision of their secret, tightly structured movement.¹

As the name implies, "shepherding," or "discipleship," is used to describe a broad range of charismatic churches headed by strong leaders intent on building dedicated flocks around themselves. The shepherding churches share some traditional Pentecostal doctrines, particularly "the gifts of the Spirit," supernatural experiences like healing and speaking in tongues.

But it would be misleading to confuse shepherding groups with fundamentalist and Pentecostal churches—even authoritarian ones—which do not subscribe to the doctrine of "covenant relationships." What distinguishes the shepherding churches are hierarchical pyramids of "cells" whose members submit themselves to shepherds for worldly and spiritual direction and doctrinal emphasis on Biblical references to authority and obedience.

By conservative estimates, at least one million U.S. Christians belong to shepherding churches.² Written accounts of the movement's origins and precise inner workings are scarce, and "sheep" are generally reticent about revealing details to outsiders.

What is clear is that the shepherding movement is diverse, decentralized, web-like in its structure,³ and conservative to radical right in its political orientations. Shepherding churches are, with increasing frequency, mobilizing for

political activism and the issues and positions are well defined: opposition to abortion rights, agitation against "humanist" thought in education, promotion of the arms race, and support for U.S. administration counterinsurgency programs abroad. The political potential of a secretive, readily mobilized cadre system is obvious. In fact, it is safe to say that the shepherding movement, with its rank-and-file cell structure and the high-level activities of its leaders, constitutes the activist vanguard of the Christian Right.

Origins

The origins of the shepherding movement may be traced to Pentecostalism's Latter Rain movement of the late 1940s and early 1950s when a number of prominent U.S. evangelists, including Oral Roberts, William Branham, and Bill Bright, postulated that theirs was the last generation and that, therefore, an extraordinary revival was at hand.⁴ Fundamentalists and Pentecostals have always stressed the imminent return of Jesus Christ, but the Latter Rain Pentecostals believed that the Second Coming would occur when the Church, which they call the Body of Christ, was perfected through Christians' submission to the "five-fold ministry" of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, as described in Ephesians 4:11. Latter Rain Pentecostals stressed the need to prepare the material world for the installation of the Kingdom of God.

Out of the Latter Rain movement grew several politically significant organizations, among them Demos Shakarian's Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International (FG-BMFI)⁵ and Bill Bright's Campus Crusade for Christ.⁶ These and other groups were the forerunners of a second wave of the post-World War II revival, the "charismatic renewal" beginning in the early 1960s and reaching its peak with the rise of the "Jesus Freak" movement. While the secular world took notice of young fervent Jesus Freaks proselytizing on college campuses, something even more significant was going on within mainstream U.S. churches. Ministers of all denominations began incorporating "charismatic" practices into their services; there was a new emphasis on singing, hand clapping, dancing, healing, and speaking in tongues.

1. Shepherding churches do not generally use the term to describe themselves, and consider it pejorative.
2. See Linda Blood, "Shepherding/Discipleship Theology and Practice of Absolute Obedience," *Cultic Studies Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1986.

3. Most successful mass movements share these qualities. For an excellent comparative study of the neo-Pentecostal and the Black Power movements of the 1960s, see Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia H. Hine, *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970).

4. Much has been written on the post-World War II revivals. See especially David Edwin Harrell, *All Things are Possible: The Healing and Charismatic Revivals in Modern America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975); and Vinson Synan, *In the Latter Days: The Outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the Twentieth Century* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Servant Books, 1984).

5. See "The Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International" in this issue.

6. See "Campus Crusade for Christ" in this issue.

Out of the "charismatic renewal" emerged key leaders, some of whom drifted away from suburbia to create self-contained Christian communes where believers could live their faith 24 hours a day. Others focused on winning new converts and developing "spiritual maturity" within their ranks. Out of the latter grew the original shepherding churches.

Go Ye Therefore and Make Disciples

The official story of U.S. shepherding centers on the "charismatic" ministries of five preachers who banded together in Fort Lauderdale, Florida in the late 1960s. Bob Mumford, Charles Simpson, Derek Prince, Ern Baxter, and Don Basham, each with their own careers as Bible teachers and evangelists, entered into a "covenant relationship" with each other and formed Christian Growth Ministries and began publishing *New Wine* magazine, with a current circulation of about 250,000. A covenant relationship has been likened to marriage; the five preachers took on a collective responsibility for overseeing each other's personal and spiritual development. Each of the "Fort Lauderdale Five" trained their own disciples to go out and start churches, organized in related pyramidal networks that criss-crossed the country geographically.

Another part of the official story is the key role of Assemblies of God preacher Juan Carlos Ortiz, an Argentinean now residing in Cupertino, California. His book, *Call to Discipleship*, is considered a manual for shepherding pastors. In the early 1970s Ortiz came to the United States and taught leading evangelicals to build churches using a cell group structure. Emphasizing a radical form of spiritual imitation (not unlike Eastern mysticism's traditional guru/disciple relationships), Ortiz urged charismatic leaders to build networks of committed disciples, not just buildings for neophytes to meet in once a week. Ortiz's underlying principle is submission:

Here is the first law of discipleship: There will be no formation of life without submission. The club-type members don't submit. It's the other way. They want the pastor to submit to them. They have the annual general assembly of the club where they vote. In this way each year, the pastor must be approved by the people. In the "new Bible" the pastor is submitted to the members but my Bible says that the people should be submitted to the pastor.

Submission means submission, nothing less. I can form the life of my children because they submit to me. But if each time I corrected them I knew they could run away, it would be a different matter.⁷

About the same time that the Fort Lauderdale Christian Growth Ministries preachers were reportedly influenced by Ortiz, on the other side of the globe a South Korean pastor was implementing cell group structure and submission to authority in his church. Paul Yonggi Cho, pastor of Full Gospel Central Church in Seoul (the largest Christian church in the world), built his flock from 600 in 1965 to 500,000 members by 1986. Cho says his secret lies in training cell group leaders to lead weekly prayer and counselling sessions for no more than 15 families in urban residential areas. Members deemed "mature" split from their mother cells, recruit new members and



Four of the Fort Lauderdale Five shepherds: (left to right) Charles Simpson, Ern Baxter, Bob Mumford, and Don Basham (seated).

form new cells.⁸

According to exiles from South Korea's military regime now living in the United States, Cho's real success secret is his strong anticommunism and avowed support for the Chun government. Exiles say Cho's brand of Christianity offers weary South Koreans an escape from the psychological stress of the Cold War against North Korea and a chance to associate themselves with a prosperous, politically acceptable public figure.

In fact, the home cell group structure had been developed by a U.S. evangelist, Dr. John Hurston, who was a co-founder of Cho's church. From 1958 to 1982 he trained South Korean and South Vietnamese leaders in implementing cell group structure to build their ranks, according to *Charisma* magazine, considered a leading publication of the shepherding movement.⁹ Hurston currently trains U.S. pastors from his Word of Faith Outreach Center in Dallas, Texas.

"What worked in South Korea is working in Dallas," *Charisma* reported in June 1986.¹⁰ Whether the flavor is Argentinian, Southeast Asian, or American, the cell group plan has two faces. On one side it looks like a standard business management blueprint for church growth; the other side looks like a model for building underground counterrevolutionary movements.

It is from both perspectives—the personal and the political—that the shepherding movement needs to be examined. First, the personal.

The Kingdom of God is Not a Democracy

Since its beginnings within the United States, the shepherding movement has been steeped in controversy. Most scandalous within evangelical ranks have been charges that shepherds have infiltrated and taken over established churches. In an in-depth investigative report, *San Francisco Examiner* religion writer Don Lattin described a Santa Rosa church taken over by Northern California shepherding bishop Dennis Peacocke after his "disciple" Loren Biggs became

8. Paul Yonggi Cho, *Successful Home Cell Groups* (Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos Press, 1981). Cho has toured the United States, and spoke at the recent charismatic conference in New Orleans. See article in this issue

9. *Charisma*, August 1986, p. 42. This magazine is published monthly by Strang Communications, 190 N. Westmont Drive, Altamonte Springs, FL 32714.

10. *Charisma*, June 1986, pp. 92-93.

Credit: Dolores Neuman



Bob Mumford says, "Christians must legislate morality."

pastor and replaced the congregation's elected elders with leaders loyal to the shepherding chain of command. The *Examiner* obtained a tape recording of Peacocke's shepherd Bob Mumford, in an address to pastors, advising them to:

' Go into your church, look around, and get yourself four new ones. Steal them out of your own congregation. Meet them on the side and begin to disciple them. Then you put them back in there, and they start making disciples. Very quietly. Actually surreptitiously—sneaky.'¹¹

One former "sheep" under Dennis Peacocke says that His Name Ministries in Santa Rosa was gradually transformed from a 1960s-style Jesus Freak church into a tightly knit authoritarian flock when, sometime in the mid 1970s, Peacocke announced that he had "submitted" himself to Alabama Bible teacher Bob Mumford and began placing church members under the authority of appointed leaders.

Most press coverage of shepherding has focused on the movement's authoritarian abuse of individual members. By the mid-1970s scores of "sheep" were reporting that their shepherds were depriving them of their independent decision-making powers, along with large sums of cash, called "tithes." Members were required to perform household chores for their shepherds and to consult their shepherds before buying a car, taking medicine, or applying for a job. Descriptions of cell group meetings began to sound more like heavy-handed "encounter sessions" where members were obliged to divulge financial and sexual secrets.¹²

Reports of abuse drew criticism from mainline Pentecostals, most notably Pat Robertson,¹³ who called shepherding an "unnatural and unscriptural domination of one man by another." In August 1975, Robertson and other Pentecostal leaders held a "secret summit" to challenge the Fort Lauderdale teachers they said were trying to found a new denomination based on "heretical" doctrines.¹⁴ But according to the *Daystar Herald*, by 1976 the "covenant/discipleship" leaders had persuaded other charismatics to quell their public criticism of shepherding. The *Daystar Herald* publishers went so far as

11. *San Francisco Examiner*, February 19, 1984, p. A-4.

12. The *Daystar Herald*, an independent Pentecostal bimonthly published in Bothell, Washington, has devoted a series of issues to shepherding's aberrant doctrines and abusive practices. (*Daystar Herald*, 19425 Filbert Road, Bothell, WA 98011.) See especially "Nationwide Abuses in Shepherding Cult Reported," *Daystar Herald*, June/July 1981.

13. *Christianity Today*, April 4, 1980, p. 45.

14. *Ibid.*

to say that some within the hierarchy of the Assemblies of God, the largest Pentecostal denomination¹⁵ were "allowing the good name of their organization to be used as a cover for cultish discipleship teachings."¹⁶

While major Christian Right leaders have publicly kept their distance from shepherds (Pat Robertson banned them from the "700 Club"¹⁷) there has been almost no public evangelical criticism of the movement in recent years, in spite of the fact that abuses of individuals' autonomy continue. Evangelicals' silence may be a result of the movement's propensity to launch huge lawsuits against its critics.¹⁸

By the 1980s, it appeared, shepherding ministries had gained near complete legitimacy within conservative Christian circles. At the February 1986 convention of the 43-year-old National Religious Broadcasters, NRB Executive Director Ben Armstrong praised the publishers of *New Wine* magazine which, jointly with NRB, produced convention packet materials, including a special *New Wine* issue on Pat Robertson.¹⁹

By Their Fruits You Shall Know Them

Christian Growth Ministries, started by the Fort Lauderdale Five, with its California branch, Covenant Outreach Ministries, is the largest grouping of shepherding churches, but it would be erroneous to limit the scope of shepherding to this one "expression".

In spite of its hierarchical structure, the shepherding movement *per se* is noticeably decentralized. There are numerous self-contained "streams" of the movement whose chains of command do not necessarily intersect. What is clear is that the streams are like mini-kingdoms, each with its own history of political activity. Inevitable inter-movement factions and conflicts are not readily apparent to the outside observer. In fact, within the Christian Right as a whole, there is a current effort to "unify" diverse groups and obscure theological rifts alluded to in our discussion of pre-tribulationism vs. post-tribulationism.²⁰

The drive for unity has brought a variety of shepherding streams together under one umbrella organization, the California-based Coalition on Revival (COR).²¹ The groups represented in COR are the most politically active and, therefore, the most worthy of our attention.

Many Are Called, Few Are Chosen: The Peacocke Network

Northern California shepherding leader Dennis Peacocke is destined to become one of the most important leaders of the Christian Right in the next few years. As both a spiritual leader and a nuts-and-bolts political strategist, Peacocke leads a double life. Peacocke the pastor "oversees" hundreds, if not

15. *New York Times*, June 22, 1986, p. 12.

16. *Daystar Herald*, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 3.

17. "False Cult Emerges from Charismatic Movement," *Daystar Herald*, Special Edition.

18. *San Mateo [California] Times*, July 19, 1980; July 29, 1980. The California shepherding ministry Covenant Outreach Ministries (COM) sued the Ohio-based Christian Standard publication for \$5 million over an editorial charging COM with attempting to "infiltrate and take over congregations." The suit was dropped when the paper agreed to print a clarification. Nevertheless, Jimmy Swaggart broadcast a series of programs during the week of September 22, 1986, expressing concern over the growing influence of shepherding churches.

19. Sara Diamond, "Super Evangelists on the Rise," Pacific News Service, June 18, 1986. And see "The Christian Underground" in this issue.

20. See "The Theology of Nuclear War" in this issue.

21. See below and "The Christian Underground," in this issue.

thousands, of Christians in dozens of churches in California, Hawaii, New York, and Mexico. Peacocke the politician appears regularly on Christian TV and radio; belongs to numerous rightwing organizations and—to put it mildly—has a keen interest in the political affairs of foreign countries.

Peacocke, 44, describes himself as a "former Marxist" and "veteran" of the Free Speech and civil rights movements. He graduated from the University of California, Berkeley in 1966 with a B.A. in political science, and went on to do some



Credit: Covenant Outreach Ministries

Dennis Peacocke, self-described former 1960s radical, is now a top shepherd.

graduate work in the same department.²² On the heels of San Francisco's Summer of Love in 1967 Peacocke started a flower shop in the Haight-Ashbury district.²³ Sometime during the late 1960s to early 1970s he also worked as a speech writer for the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO.²⁴

In 1968 he had a "born-again" experience, and in 1969 met shepherding leader Bob Mumford who became his pastor in 1977.²⁵ In 1972 Peacocke began a half-way house for Jesus people in Santa Rosa²⁶ and began teaching a Bible study class that split off from an Assemblies of God church.²⁷ "What was unusual is that those who came were mostly young people who were ready to trade in their rebellious lifestyle for a Kingdom of God experience," wrote one of Peacocke's early followers.²⁸

Eventually, Peacocke and a few of his close subordinates moved to San Mateo County, just south of San Francisco, while others in his flock were stationed in Santa Rosa, Marin County, Montana, New York, Hawaii, and Mexico.²⁹

At some point Peacocke's vision of the Kingdom of God took a sharp turn rightward. This was probably on his own initiative and not at the behest of his shepherd Bob Mumford (who until recently was headquartered in Mobile, Alabama.)³⁰ By the early 1980s—when the Christian Right as a whole

Dennis Peacocke and the Secular Right

"Taking dominion," Dennis Peacocke style, necessitates liaisons with a variety of secular institutions. Until recently, Peacocke and his associate Tom Jackson also hosted a weekly radio program which they used to organize on a variety of political causes. Topics and guests ranged from "victims of child abuse legislation" to labor/management relations to human rights in Nicaragua. On August 12, 1986 Peacocke interviewed Vladimir Bukovsky, head of American Foundation for Resistance International. Bukovsky left the Soviet Union when he was traded for Chilean labor leader Luis Cárvallo, jailed at the time of the Pinochet coup. In 1983, Bukovsky addressed the annual convention of the World Anti-Communist League in Luxembourg.

On July 30, Tom Jackson interviewed Steve Schwartz, research director for the San Francisco-based thinktank, the Institute for Contemporary Studies. (As expected, Schwartz and Jackson rehashed the litany of anti-Nicaragua propaganda themes and, when questioned by a caller, defended Ríos Montt as a "liberal.")

The ICS was founded in 1972 by Edwin Meese III. In 1984, the ICS published *The Grenada Papers*, an edited collection of documents seized in the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada. Herbert Romerstein and Michael Ledeen performed the first editing of the documents; University of California, Berkeley professors Walter McDougall and Paul Seabury (of the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the Institute on Religion and Democracy) worked with Steve Schwartz on the final editing. (See Sara Diamond, "Grenada Papers: Propaganda Coup," *Daily Californian*, November 4, 1984.)

Schwartz bragged to a former school chum in San Francisco that throughout the project he was in constant contact with Michael Ledeen and was treated to a special Washington, D.C. lunch with CIA Director William Casey. Currently, Schwartz is helping former *contra* leader Eden Pastora author a book.

As for Dennis Peacocke, suffice it to say that politics makes for interesting bedfellows!

ascended as a major U.S. political force—Peacocke had assembled around himself a tight coterie of business-minded, politically conservative associates.

Out of Covenant Outreach Ministries, Peacocke and his associates Tom Jackson, Will Pilcher, and Rod Wallace incorporated Alive and Free as a non-profit educational institution in December 1983. Since then, Alive and Free has maintained both a low profile and—according to its tax filings—a low budget. For the year 1984 Alive and Free claimed \$12,549.50 total revenue and an ending bank balance of just \$145.00.³¹ However, a recent visit to its headquarters found a well-furnished modern office with several computers. None of the four officers draws a salary from the organization, the main function of which appears to be networking with other Christian Right groups and sponsoring policy issue conferences.

22. University of California, Berkeley academic records.
23. *San Francisco Examiner*, February 19, 1984.
24. Taped interview with Dennis Peacocke, February 4, 1986.
25. *San Francisco Examiner*, February 19, 1984.
26. *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, December 9, 1984, p. 1.
27. *San Francisco Examiner*, February 19, 1984.
28. Spring 1980 issue of "The Servant" newsletter, published by Peacocke's Christian Covenant Community.
29. According to a former member of Peacocke's Covenant Outreach Ministries, the group operates an orphanage in Juárez, Mexico; what is curious about this project is that it is not promoted publicly.
30. *San Francisco Examiner*, July 11, 1986.

31. The source of funding is unknown; in 1985 Alive and Free received a \$1,000 grant from Christian Voice, according to a 1985 report to the California Attorney General.

In December 1984 Alive and Free hosted a one-day conference entitled "Marxism on the Doorstep: Conflict to the South" with former Guatemalan dictator General Efraín Ríos Montt the featured speaker.³² Montt is a member of the Guatemalan El Verbo church, part of the Eureka, California-based shepherding stream Gospel Outreach (see below). When asked about Ríos Montt's brutal human rights record, Alive and Free's Rod Wallace told a Bay Area journalist, "He's a Sunday school teacher. We're interested in the perspectives of Sunday school teachers and instructors at Bible schools."³³ When a local Guatemalan solidarity group organized a protest of the event, Alive and Free relocated the conference to an undisclosed location and denied entrance to at least one paid registrant.

"The Bottom Line"—Peacocke as Propagandist

Peacocke produces a 30-minute weekly television program "The Bottom Line" at Family Christian Broadcasting Network in Concord, California. The TV network, which broadcasts throughout Northern and Central California, entirely underwrites the production costs of the program. The show has a monotonous format: Dennis Peacocke lectures his Christian audience on their responsibility to "take dominion over all the earth."

South Africa: "He Who Has the Gold Makes the Rules"

Peacocke constantly refers to himself as a "former Marxist." The idea, of course, is that he has now recovered from some terrible disease. His dubious credentials as a veteran antiwar and civil rights activist are especially useful when he talks about South Africa. Peacocke emphasizes the undeniable horrors of *apartheid* racism, while alerting his Christian audience to the real "menace," Soviet domination of the African National Congress.

The source of Peacocke's briefings on South Africa is no mystery. Donald McAlvany, Alive and Free's foreign policy advisor, is intimately involved in South Africa. McAlvany edits the *McAlvany Intelligence Advisor*, one of dozens of high-priced financial newsletters; this one focuses on gold investment and the threat of impending U.S. sanctions against South Africa. McAlvany is also a contributor to the John Birch Society biweekly *The New American* wherein he develops the major themes of the current pro-Pretoria propaganda offensive.³⁴

The precise nature of McAlvany's relationship with the South African government remains a mystery. In March 1986 McAlvany led a delegation of 60 U.S. business and political leaders on a "high-level intelligence/fact-finding mission" into South Africa, Namibia, and the so-called Republic of Ciskei. McAlvany and four of the delegates also flew into "Free Angola" for a two-day meeting with Jonas Savimbi and his UN-

32. See CAIB Number 18 (Winter 1983), p. 34; Number 20 (Winter 1984), p. 37.

33. *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, December 28, 1984.

34. In general, these include arguments that *apartheid* has already been largely dismantled because pass laws are gone and mixed marriage is permitted; that the West is manifesting a "death wish" by facilitating the ANC's eventual seizure of power in South Africa; that the Soviets are building a military base in South Africa, and Soviet operatives in the western media are distorting the facts; that South Africa's state of emergency has restored order; that the Zulus, led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, represent the true interests of South African Blacks and, therefore, should be armed and turned loose on Black revolutionaries; that the South African government will survive economic sanctions, but thousands of Black workers will be displaced; and that the ANC is not a true liberation movement.

ITA staff.

McAlvany's co-leaders on this mission were Howard Phillips, head of Conservative Caucus, and Duncan Sellars, editor of the now-defunct African Intelligence Digest. In 1984 Duncan Sellars was a plenary speaker at Dennis Peacocke's conference on Central America. He shared the platform with Ríos Montt. Sellars was dubbed an "expert on Marxist advances in Central America," and is a board member of the Council on National Policy.³⁵

The *McAlvany Intelligence Advisor* is perhaps the only publication in the United States that claims that ANC leaders, after killing opponents with a burning rubber tire, sometimes "eat of the burnt flesh, even before the victim has died."³⁶

Birds of a Feather

Some peculiar guests appear on Dennis Peacocke's 30-minute weekly TV show, "The Bottom Line." In June 1986 (repeated in October) Peacocke broadcast one of a three-part series on the Communist Menace in Central America. His featured guest, identified simply as "Bob," was a U.S. citizen who had lived in Costa Rica, described as an expert on Central America. Clipboard in hand, Peacocke and "Bob" recited all of the major disinformation themes against Nicaragua.

When asked about "Bob"'s true identity, Peacocke said he couldn't say because "Bob" might have trouble with his passport and lose his ability to slip in and out of Nicaragua.³⁷ It turns out that "Bob" is actually Rev. Michael Bresnan, one of Peacocke's disciples, a former Peace Corps trainer in Costa Rica, who appeared on "The Bottom Line" in February 1986 under his real name.

Bresnan lives in Marin County, California; from his home and from an office in Virginia, he directs a strange outfit called the International Church Relief Fund. Bresnan travels frequently to Central America, and according to one of his associates, his major activity is helping "settle" Nicaraguan refugees who do not want to enter established refugee camps in Honduras. In October 1986 "Bob" made an appearance on Family Christian Broadcasting Network's "California Tonight" talk show under his real name; he said he had just returned from a trip to Central America during which he delivered supplies to camps in Honduras.

Bresnan is also a key player in the Suriname-based Caribbean Christian Ministries, headed by Rev. Geoff Donnan, and with Peacocke on its Board of Reference. The stated purpose of the "ministry" is to impose a "biblical world and life view" on Caribbean people:

The governments of Cuba, Nicaragua, Guyana, Suriname, and formerly Grenada and Haiti are visible results of anti-Christian influence seeking to dominate—often with the aid of Christianity. If this trend continues, not only is the political, military and economic stability of the region in

35. The Council on National Policy is an umbrella organization of mostly secular right-wing groups and millionaire financiers like Joseph Coors and Nelson Bunker Hunt. See especially Flo Conway and Jim Siegelman, *Holy Terror: The Fundamentalist War on America's Freedoms in Religion, Politics, and Our Private Lives* (New York: Delta, 1982).

Sellars currently works with Howard Phillips at the Conservative Caucus in Washington, D.C. According to a spokesperson with the *McAlvany Intelligence Advisor*, Sellars' newsletter had no relation to the *Intelligence Digest* published during the 1970s by the South Africa Foundation, a South African government front. Sellars' political newsletter was published jointly by Donald McAlvany until it became no longer financially advantageous.

36. *McAlvany Intelligence Advisor*, April 1986, p. 4.

37. Taped interview with Peacocke, July 3, 1986.



Rev. Michael Bresnan, under cover as "Bob Johnston," on Dennis Peacocke's TV program, "The Bottom Line." In February 1986 he appeared as Mike Bresnan; in June 1986 he appeared as "Bob"; in October 1986 he appeared on Ronn Haus's "California Tonight" program with Dennis Peacocke, José González (Jimmy Hassan's translator and the head of Hispanic Studies at CBN University), and Josué López, who directs Peacocke's orphanage in Juárez, Mexico.

jeopardy, but the free sharing of the Gospel and religious freedom as well.³⁸

Caribbean Christian Ministries runs Bible courses in Guyana, Barbados, Grenada, Suriname, Curacao, Aruba, and Bonaire, with the goal of countering "sinful philosophies" like humanism and liberation theology. In the summer of 1986 the ministry moved its headquarters to southern Florida to work with Nicaraguan and Cuban refugee communities. The move may have been related to Donnan's having been banned from entering Guyana.³⁹

Another tentacle of the Peacocke/Bresnan network is the U.S. Committee for the Defense of Christian Rights, also known as "The Church in Persecution." The group's charter was drafted by staffers at Pat Robertson's CBN University Law School.⁴⁰ The primary focus of the group is to develop "the ideological and theological framework for the Church and those who are working specifically on behalf of persecuted Christians wherever they may be."⁴¹

Gospel Outreach

Though the Peacocke network has managed to keep a low public profile, the same has not been true for Gospel Outreach, another California-based sect, which gained notoriety when one of its "elders," Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt became president of Guatemala during the 1982 military coup.⁴²

38. Caribbean Christian Ministries fact sheet, June 1982.

39. The government of Desi Bouterse has been subjected to repeated destabilization attempts. See CAIB, Number 18 (Winter 1983), p. 63, and Number 20 (Winter 1984), p. 6.

40. Caribbean Christian Ministries newsletter, August 1986.

41. *Ibid.* The leading "persecuted Christian" is undoubtedly Jimmy Hassan, exiled Nicaraguan director of the U.S.-based Campus Crusade for Christ. See "Campus Crusade for Christ" in this issue.

42. See "Holy Spirit or Holy Spook?" in this issue. And see Robert Lawrence, "Evangelicals Support Guatemalan Dictatorship," CAIB, Number 18 (Winter 1983), p. 34.

The Israeli Connection

Gospel Outreach's activities in Guatemala inevitably raise the question of possible Israeli involvement.

Israel was Guatemala's principal international backer between 1977, when the Carter administration cut off U.S. aid to the infamous military government, and January 1986, when the installation of civilian president Vinicio Cerezo restored Guatemala's public image. Aside from its role as chief arms merchant, Israel also installed computer surveillance equipment in Guatemala and, under the pretext of providing agricultural assistance, helped devise Ríos Montt's "beans and bullets" strategic hamlets, modeled after the CIA's Operation Phoenix.⁴³

If there is an Israeli connection to Gospel Outreach, it may be Richard Paradise, a long-time evangelist/pastor in the organization. In March and July 1986 interviews, Paradise claimed to be intimately involved with the Israeli government. He says he works under the auspices of the World Zionist Organization as a liaison with U.S. evangelicals, with the assigned role of working against anti-Semitism within U.S. churches. Paradise claims to have gone on speaking tours with Israeli Colonel Yehuda Levy following the raid on Entebbe, and that the same Colonel notified him in the U.S. several hours before the June 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. A spokesperson for the Israeli consulate in San Francisco says they have no knowledge of Rev. Paradise.

Paradise says he is currently developing a computerized news service intended for distribution to evangelical churches. The service will provide up-to-the-minute reports from and about the Middle East, with analysis of current events in light of Biblical prophecy found in the book of Revelation.

43. "Links to Democracy?" *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, January 1986, published by Jane Hunter, P.O. Box 19580, Sacramento, CA 95819

Throughout Ríos Montt's iron-fist rule over Guatemala, the mainstream press characterized Gospel Outreach, and its Latin-affiliated Verbo churches, as just one among hundreds of eccentric sects stationed in Guatemala following the 1976 earthquake there. But there's more to Gospel Outreach than meets the eye.

Gospel Outreach may or may not be classified as a distinct "stream" of the shepherding movement. It may be that Gospel Outreach practices a moderate form of shepherding. The signs are there for those who can read between the lines. Its literature emphasizes "commitment," "covenant relationships," "spiritual authority," and other code words common to shepherding groups. Mainstream press reports about Ríos Montt's regime noted that his U.S. church elders exerted an unusual degree of influence on the General's decision-making processes.⁴³

Gospel Outreach has nearly 50 churches within the United

43. See especially the *San José Mercury News* article by Gordon Mott June 19, 1983, quoting church elders on how "everyone who comes into the church is assigned a member so that a personal relationship is established." One of Gospel Outreach's top evangelists, Richard Paradise, said in a taped interview in March 1986 that he was ordained by Bob Mumford with Dennis Peacocke during the mid-1970s. The group's main function, however, has remained its counterinsurgency role in Central America.

States (mostly in California, Oregon, and Washington), and an estimated 4000 members worldwide. Like the Peacocke network, it grew out of the Jesus People movement of the late 1960s. In 1970 five born-again hippies from southern California came to Eureka, California looking for a place to open up a coffee house. There they met Jim Durkin, a conservative real estate agent and part-time Assemblies of God preacher.⁴⁴ Durkin became a spiritual godfather to the young Christians. He let them stay in one of his vacant properties, then helped them open up a coffee house and start a community at an abandoned Coast Guard Lighthouse.⁴⁵

An excellent PBS film, "The Gospel in Guatemala," produced by Steve Talbot and Elizabeth Farnsworth of KQED television station, documented Gospel Outreach's transformation into a major political force in Guatemala. In 1976 a

44. *New York Times*, August 14, 1983.

45. According to a taped talk given in Sacramento in May 1986 at a conference sponsored by the South Lake Tahoe group Christian Equippers International.

band of zealous Gospel Outreach evangelicals went to Guatemala to help the country rebuild after a major earthquake. Like other Protestant groups, they had a dual purpose: to help in a humanitarian sense and, at the same time, to convert Catholic Guatemalans into Bible-believing fundamentalists.⁴⁶

One of Gospel Outreach's earliest converts was Ríos Montt, a general trained in the U.S. In a corrupt election in 1974, Ríos Montt had lost the presidency, but during a March 1982 officers' coup, he was asked to assume the role of president—and his pastors said "go ahead." Within a week of Ríos Montt's accession to power, Pat Robertson flew to Guatemala, presumably to begin plans for a support network of U.S. evangelicals. By May 1982, Robertson told the *New York Times*⁴⁷ that his Christian Broadcasting Network would send

46. See especially the NACLA Report on the Americas January/February 1984 issue on "The Salvation Brokers: Conservative Evangelicals in Central America."

47. *New York Times*, May 20, 1982.

The South Africa Media Campaign

It is all very reminiscent of Muldergate, the scandal that ensued when it was discovered that South Africa's Department of Information (DOI) had authorized expenditures of \$73 million for more than 160 secret projects to buy politicians and media favorable to the *apartheid* state.¹ Rev. Moon's *Washington Times* was one of the beneficiaries—approximately \$4.5 million was funneled to Moon's overseas enterprises. The South African government bought substantial interest in a chain of more than sixty newspapers in the U.S.; *Saturday Evening Post* publisher Beurt SerVaas accepted gifts and business deals from Pretoria; and more than two hundred U.S. journalists toured South Africa on all-expenses-paid trips.

By 1986 the embattled South African government—fighting its Black population at home while hoping to forestall international economic sanctions from abroad—had few allies left in the world. Abandoned even by conservative Republicans in the U.S. Senate, it seems that fundamentalist Christians remain the last bastion of support in the U.S. for South African *apartheid*.

Beginning in the spring of 1986, Christian TV and radio preachers sympathetic to Pretoria have waged a media campaign designed to persuade their U.S. audiences that South Africa is a victim of liberal media bias and that the African National Congress is nothing but a "Soviet puppet" intent on depriving the U.S. military-industrial complex of "our" strategic minerals.

Naturally, Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network has been a leader in favorable coverage of South Africa. A case in point is a news feature, "Who is the ANC?" aired on CBN's "700 Club" September 11, 1986. The piece featured film footage shot at close range of two alleged ANC atrocities: One victim was burned alive with a

gasoline-filled rubber tire "necklace;" another was stabbed to death by a crowd of attackers. Juxtaposed between the violent scenes were clips of ANC President Oliver Tambo and Winnie Mandela advocating all-out war against the South African government.

Robertson capped the piece with an interview with his friend (and former CBN employee) then Senator Jeremiah Denton (Rep.-Ala.) who chaired the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism.² Denton said the rising price of platinum signaled the beginning of the end for U.S. access to South African chrome, platinum, and manganese. Robertson likened U.S. "softness" toward the ANC to previous "betrayals" of Anastasio Somoza and the Shah of Iran.

It is doubtful that the atrocity scenes shown on the "700 Club" could have been filmed by independent newscasters. Network film crews have been routinely threatened by township organizers who suspect reporters may be government agents. Pretoria has banned journalists from covering any political assembly in South Africa, and footage that has been filmed has not been successfully transported out of the country.

There is, however, one likely source of the footage. According to Ronn Haus, President of the California-based Family Christian Broadcasting Network (FCBN) and a close associate of Robertson (see other sidebar), last spring Haus accompanied CBN officials at a meeting with a "person from the Reagan administration." They were shown film footage of a necklacing and told that the footage would eventually be released for U.S. TV audiences.

In an interview at the COR convention, Haus said that the South African government is selecting supportive U.S. media people for tours of their country. "They are bringing

1. See Murray Waas, "Destructive Engagement: Apartheid's Target U.S. Campaign," *National Reporter*, Winter 1985.

2. See CAIB, Number 12 (April 1981), p. 32.

missionaries and more than a billion dollars to help Brother Ríos Montt rule the country. While this extraordinary promise never materialized, Ríos Montt managed to convince Congress that he would not seek massive sums of U.S. aid. Instead, he would rely on "private aid" from U.S. evangelicals.

In June 1982 Ríos Montt's aide and Gospel Outreach elder Francisco Bianchi came to the U.S. to meet with the U.S. Ambassador to the OAS William Middendorf, presidential Counselor Edwin Meese III, Interior Secretary James Watt, U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala Fred Chapin, and Christian Right leaders Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, and Loren Cunningham (head of Youth With a Mission). The State Department held a special briefing for Christian Right leaders, emphasizing the need for private support for the Ríos Montt regime.⁴⁸

48. Donna Eberwine, "To Ríos Montt with Love Lift," *The Nation*, February 26, 1983. In a sense, the pro-Ríos Montt campaign laid the groundwork for the later private *contra* aid network.

"them over there in different ways and trying to do a show-and-tell, hoping that these people will come back and advocate the position of the South African government." Haus himself was invited to tour South Africa last summer. He says he canceled the trip because it was "at the invitation of and underwritten by the South African government, and I finally decided that I didn't want to be wrongly interpreted as a pawn."³

Ron Haus and Dennis Peacocke were among about 500 U.S. Christian leaders invited by Secretary of State George Shultz to a special State Department briefing on South Africa June 2, 1986. The State Department will not disclose the list of invitees nor the precise nature of the meeting.

Since the State Department briefing, Haus's network, which broadcasts throughout California and nationally by satellite, has hosted a number of white South African missionaries on its "California Tonight" talk show. Among them were Vic and Anton Sawyer, now based in Oregon; Johan Englebrecht who heads the Institute for Church Growth, a murky South African organization that "trains Christian leaders," and Fred Shaw, head of the Christian League of South Africa.⁴

The current Christian Right media treatment of South Africa was organized at the February 1986 convention of the National Religious Broadcasters.⁵ At that time the executive committee of the NRB agreed to help a group of white South African pastors form a South African NRB and to support their efforts by touring the country and returning with "the true story."

In March Ben Kinchlow, Robertson's Black co-host on the "700 Club," went to South Africa. In a live satellite feed from South Africa, Kinchlow testified that with the exception of a "whites only" sign at a public beach, he personally experienced no racism there. On the same feed, Kinchlow conducted a live interview with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha—at a time when secular U.S. jour-

Out of these meetings Gospel Outreach organized International Love Lift. In "700 Club" promotional and fundraising letters, Love Lift fundraisers capitalized on the fundamentalist tradition of anticommunism and patronage toward Indian people. On January 8, 1983, President Reagan lifted the 1977 ban on military aid to Guatemala instituted by President Carter for human rights reasons. That same day 350 U.S. evangelicals set sail with a boat carrying \$1 million worth of food, clothing, medical supplies, and housing materials, destined for refugee camps in Guatemala's Ixil triangle.⁴⁹

Farnsworth and Talbot's documentary revealed the Gospel Outreach workers' participation in the Guatemalan army's administration of camps for survivors of Ríos Montt's brutal massacres. The question that was left unanswered was what role, if any, Gospel Outreach played in planning and conducting the genocidal campaigns.

Further information implicating Verbo church members

49. *The Nation*, op. cit., p. 48.

nalists were not allowed access to Pretoria's top leaders. Naturally, the interview centered on the potentially negative consequences of proposed economic sanctions against South Africa.

In May NRB executive director Ben Armstrong toured South Africa with John Gimenez and his Rock Christian Network film crew, Dick Bott, owner of a string of Christian radio stations in the Midwest, and Tom Wallace, general manager of northern California's major Christian radio station KFAX. Wallace said the tour was paid for not by U.S. broadcasters but by an "anonymous group of South African businessmen."⁶ Armstrong confirmed this⁷ and agreed that some of the money may come from the South African government, as Haus indicated.

"There are some South African businessmen who perceive that perhaps their whole future depends on getting a different view across in this country," Wallace said. Upon his return from the tour he devoted several of his afternoon talk shows to discussions of mainstream media distortion of South Africa and taped interviews with Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, believed by many to be a collaborator with the South African government. Since May other tours have been organized by the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International,⁸ with reduced airfare rates provided by the South African government airline, South African Airways.

To promote the tours, the airline has produced a 30-minute video "The Other South Africa," narrated by Stephen B. Stephens, an Ohio-based Christian businessman. The video features interviews with well-respected fundamentalist leaders, including Kenneth Copeland, Benny Hinn, and Ray MacCauley, urging Christians to visit South Africa and imbibe its physical and spiritual beauty. The two-week tour price of \$1795 includes meals, and the promoters say it's a great vacation—there are luxurious hotels complete with gourmet restaurants, sandy beaches, and lots of gift shops filled with diamond jewelry at reasonable prices. It really is the other South Africa.

6. Telephone interview, July 1986.

7. Telephone interview, July 1986.

8. See "Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International," in this issue.

3. Taped interview with Ronn Haus, July 3, 1986.

4. For a thorough treatment of Shaw's activities as well as the full scope of Pretoria's use of rightist Christians in Britain in the 1970s, see Derrick Knight, *Beyond the Pale: The Christian Political Fringe* (Lancaster: Caraf Publications, 1982).

5. See "The Christian Underground," in this issue.

emerged after Ríos Montt was ousted from office in August 1983. According to a special report entitled "Sectas y religiosidad en América Latina" published in October 1984 by the Chile-based Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales,⁵⁰ during Ríos Montt's rule, members of Gospel Outreach's Verbo church took jobs in espionage and torture and accompanied Israeli and Argentinean experts during interrogation sessions. The report quotes an evangelical pastor, Clemente Díaz Aguilar, who was detained and tortured by mistake in January 1983:

...my captors stole everything from me.... Those who captured me, in front of me, divided up my money, and later they led me into the hands of the torturers. In the long hours of torture, they asked me constantly about other pastors...of some churches in the capital; they asked me also about my views on liberation theology and about the liberation of the people of Israel.

The torturers, tired of doing so much damage to me, rested for a while; then I recognized some of them: two are members of a singing duo from these churches [Verbo and Misión Elim]; I begged [them] to recognize me because I recognized them; then they asked me questions about my capture, my complete name, my address, my church and my activities. When they realized I was not the person they were looking for, they begged my forgiveness, saying "Brother, we are also Christians."⁵¹

The report describes what kind of "Christians" Ríos Montt and his aides really are: Within the first nine months of his administration, 12 evangelical pastors were assassinated; 69 were kidnapped; 45 "disappeared"; 15 were jailed; 11 foreign missionaries were expelled; 88 evangelical temples were destroyed; and 50 more were occupied by the Army.⁵² In August 1982 Francisco Bianchi told a U.S. newspaper: "It is true, we have killed Indians, because they are communists or collaborators with the guerrillas."⁵³ In December 1982 a group of North Americans interviewed a number of Guatemalan religious leaders, including a Verbo Church pastor. They asked him about Ríos Montt and about Army massacres of indigenous people. He responded:

The Army doesn't massacre the Indians. It massacres demons, and the Indians are demon possessed: they are communists. We hold Brother Efraín Ríos Montt like King David of the Old Testament. He is the king of the New Testament.⁵⁴

The Word is Propaganda

Aside from its actual intervention on behalf of the Guate-

50. "Sects and religion in Latin America," published in Spanish by the Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales, Casilla 16637, Correo 9, Santiago, Chile, October 1984.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22, translated by Sara Diamond.

52. *Ibid.* Ríos Montt's own brother, a Catholic Bishop, had to go into exile in Costa Rica. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, n. 42, p. 35. See also *CounterSpy*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (March-May 1983), p. 48: "Gospel Outreach propaganda gives the impression that all evangelical Christians in Guatemala—possibly 20 percent of the population—support Ríos Montt. That is simply not true. The Army has massacred evangelical Christians in the same fashion it has disposed of others. Only one week after Ríos Montt took power, soldiers threw grenades into an evangelical church in Chupol, Quiche province, accusing those inside of being guerrillas. Thirty-six people were killed."

53. *Op. cit.*, n. 50, p. 23.

54. *Ibid.*

malan military, Gospel Outreach plays a key role in persuading U.S. fundamentalists that U.S. policy is designed to benefit Third World people. The main vehicle is the "Frontline Report," covering International Love Lift's ongoing work throughout Latin America.

Verbo's International Love Lift media arm is directed by Costa Rica-born Alfred Kalschmitt, a former Coca Cola[®] ad man, who sums up the purpose of his work:

We're intimately involved in what's happening politically, socially, and spiritually in the Hispanic world. We're conveying that information to North Americans and Europeans from a Christian point of view. The liberal press has so consistently distorted Latin American news that some Christians have formed wrong opinions of what's happening. These opinions inadvertently might lead them to back up political decisions that could foster a communist takeover in the hemisphere.⁵⁵

In article after article on Central and South America's "turmoil and despair" the main themes are that Jesus is the only answer to fighting between left and right; political solutions are futile; that people are suffering from "hopelessness"—not from objective conditions like hunger, illiteracy and sickness; that this hopelessness and despair is spreading and will soon reach the borders of the United States; and that violence is everywhere; its source is unknown but probably can be attributed to rebellious leftists.

These themes are conveyed using techniques explicitly appropriate for the evangelical audience. For example, in the August 1986 issue, Brother Efraín Ríos Montt wrote a piece based on the notion that the North and South American continents should be seen as "one body," and that, just like the human body, the various parts cannot function without each other. Of course, he defined the U.S. as the head of the body controlling the rest.⁵⁶

Though the analogy is false—Third World countries cannot be likened to subordinate parts of a human body—it works because it is an analogy frequently used by shepherding leaders to justify authoritarian direction by leaders of the "Body of Christ."

International Love Lift continues to lead the fight against "communist takeover" in the region. Its current projects include: a Verbo school in Managua; a campaign to fight Catholicism and spiritualism in Brazil; Casa Bernabe orphanage in Antigua, Guatemala, for orphans of massacres; a missionary outreach from Latin America to the U.S. to work with Florida's Cuban community; a Leadership Training School with over 1,000 members in Guatemala City, directed by Ríos Montt himself; and a Love Lift School of Evangelism, directed by the Christian Equippers International of South Lake Tahoe, California (headed by Francis Anfuso, whose twin brother Joseph Anfuso is a leader in Gospel Outreach).

Maranatha—God's Green Berets

This young man is taking over his campus, and I want you to know that we're to take over too. The Bible says we are to...rule. If you don't rule and I don't rule, the atheists and the humanists and the agnostics are going to rule. We should be the head of our school board. We should be the

55. *Frontline Report*, Vol. 10, No. 5.

56. *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, No. 4.

Credit: Maranatha Ministries



Bob Weiner, president of Maranatha Ministries, prays that "Christians must take dominion."

head of our nation. We should be the Senators and the Congressmen. We should be the editors of our newspapers. We should be taking over every area of life.⁵⁷

This is Bob Weiner speaking. His Maranatha Campus Ministries organization claims campus ministries at 56 universities in 31 states,⁵⁸ and operations in a number of foreign nations. Weiner is a major presence in the religious Right, and serves on the Board of Governors of the Council for National Policy, the Steering Committee of the Coalition on Revival, and the Steering Committee of the North American Congress on the Holy Spirit (see sidebar), which sponsored a conference in New Orleans attended by several hundred Maranatha followers from around the country.⁵⁹

"Maranatha" is a Greek word, meaning "the Lord cometh." Maranatha Campus Ministries, epitomizes the shepherding movement's focus on "taking dominion" over secular society. Maranatha members describe themselves as "God's Green Berets," and it's true: they are the most aggressively evangelistic and politically rightwing of any campus crusaders.⁶⁰

Looking at Maranatha's monthly tabloid, *The Forerunner*, it's hard to tell if the group's primary purpose is evangelism or

57. "The Forerunner," TV program aired on Concord, California Christian TV station KFCB, December 7, 1985.

58. *The Forerunner*, October 1986, p.12. Maranatha's director for evangelism worldwide, Rice Brooks, wrote *Change the Campus—Change the World: A Battle Plan for Reaching This Generation*; he has appeared on the 700 Club, and heads Maranatha's Society for Creation Science (SCS) which pushes creationism on college campuses. Three members of the Advisory Board of SCS, Richard Bliss, Henry M. Morris, and Duane Gish, are associates of the California Institute for Creation Research (CIR), founded by Tim Lahaye. Bliss authored the Arkansas statute which mandated creationism he taught in the schools; Morris and Gish are both members of the Council for National Policy.

59. Weiner was a scheduled speaker at Gerald Derrine's Christian Retreat in 1986 (*Blessings*, Fall 1985) and at Francis Anluso's Christian Equippers International (CEI) conference in May 1985, where Larry Tomeczak and Jim Durkin of Gospel Outreach were also scheduled (*Charisma*, February 1986). In January 1986 Derek Prince addressed several thousand members of Maranatha at a New Year's meeting (*Charisma*, June 1986).

60. Fred Clarkson, "Reagan Youth," *Interchange Report*, Winter 1985.

rightwing political organizing. Issue after issue features articles on the merits of capitalism, the threat of terrorism, and the global war on communism. In addition, Maranatha distributes *The Contest For World Dominion: A Christian Response to Karl Marx*, which says, "Are we to sit back and just accept the idea that the Iron Curtain, the Bamboo Curtain or the Sugar Cane Curtain can keep the gospel out of communist nations? Christians of this generation! It is time that we take the world!" Maranatha also distributes a booklet on "Christian Dominion" in which Bob Weiner argues that God chose "English-speaking Teutonic peoples" to come to America and

The North American Congress on the Holy Spirit

In addition to the conventions of the National Religious Broadcasters and the Coalition on Revival, a third significant conference was the North American Congress on the Holy Spirit and World Evangelization (NAC), held in the New Orleans Superdome October 8-11, 1986, sponsored by the North American Renewal Service Committee (NARSC).

While COR was organized by Protestant fundamentalists and Pentecostals, the NAC was organized principally by Catholic charismatics associated with People of Praise community in South Bend, Indiana, and was attended by both Catholic charismatics and Protestant Pentecostals.¹

The NAC was administered and organized by the Catholic-run Charismatic Renewal Services located in South Bend, Indiana. South Bend is the headquarters of the controversial People of Praise Community, with which David Sklorenko, NAC Director, is associated. People of Praise and its related organization, Word of God, in Ann Arbor, Michigan (out of which the former split following an obscure dispute), are at the hub of a rapidly proliferating network of Catholic charismatic organizations in the United States and abroad which are structured like the Protestant shepherding groups in terms of strict hierarchy and intense organizational and ideological loyalty of members. Both Word of God and People of Praise have outreach programs to non-Catholics and, in the latter group, non-Catholic Christian groups can have formally established "covenant relationships." The Community of Jesus the King, a Catholic community in New Orleans connected to People of Praise, provided much of the local organizing and administrative staff.

Although NAC was organized by this Catholic Charismatic network, non-Catholic Pentecostals were represented on the Steering Committee of NAC's sponsoring organization (NARSC), and participated in the New Orleans events. ●

1. The Catholic charismatics were represented at NRB by Fr. John Bertolucci, of the University of Steubenville, who addressed the Catholic session at NAC. Bertolucci is on the Advisory Board of the Ann Arbor *New Covenant* magazine, which is largely a Word of God publication.

"administer government among savage and senile peoples" and to "establish a system where no chaos reigned."

Aside from its absurd pseudopolitics, Maranatha has also been likened to a religious cult.⁶¹ Members are not permitted to date; if they feel God's calling to become engaged to someone, they submit their request to their shepherd who will let them know if they may marry. As in other shepherding "streams" each sheep is assigned a shepherd to oversee his or her spiritual and worldly activities. Financial obligations from members are strictly enforced, and at one time Maranatha required new members to sign a Statement of Covenant which read, in part:

I recognize the authority of the elders as God has set them in the Body. I am willing to submit my life unto them for exhortation, rebuke, correction, instruction in doctrine, and guidance.⁶²

In November 1982, evangelicals worried about cults met with the leadership of Maranatha to discuss concerns about the group's authoritarian reputation. Charles Farah of Oral Roberts University and Jerry Horner of Pat Robertson's CBN University came to Maranatha's defense.⁶³

Maranatha and Politics

The organization has been useful to the Republican Party. The *Wall Street Journal*, noting that Maranatha sent between 60 and 100 members to campaign door to door for Mark Siljander in 1982, described Weiner's organizing pro-*contra* aid demonstrations on 70 campuses across the country on the eve of a crucial vote on the issue in Congress.⁶⁴

One of the most notorious Maranatha political operatives was David Fazio, *The Forerunner*'s campus correspondent in Chapel Hill, North Carolina in 1986. He was the National Chairman of the Raleigh-based Students for America,⁶⁵ which

^{61.} On August 16, 1985 the *Wall Street Journal* ran a front page story on Maranatha headed, "Fervent Faction: Maranatha Christians Backing Rightist Ideas, Draw Fire Over Tactics. Campus Defectors Say Group Often Uses Mind Control To Guide Personal Lives," citing a recent committee of established religious leaders which concluded that Maranatha "has an authoritarian orientation with potential negative consequences for members." The article noted that Maranatha had been removed from several campuses by college authorities. The authoritarian ideology within Maranatha was re-emphasized in the June 1986 issue of *The Forerunner*, which ran a reprint from Dennis Peacocke's newsletter "Bottom Line" denouncing "The Fear of Absolutes." Both Peacocke and Larry Lea are frequent contributors to *The Forerunner*.

^{62.} Statement of covenant, from the library files of Spiritual Counterfeits, a group of evangelicals in Berkeley, California, which watches cults.

^{63.} *Christianity Today*, August 10, 1984, p. 39.

^{64.} President Reagan, said the article, had sent Weiner a congratulatory note in 1982, at the suggestion of Morton C. Blackwell, director of Youth for Reagan/Bush in 1980, who became Special Assistant to Reagan in charge of liaison to religious groups; he resigned his White House post in 1984 to head the Leadership Institute, based in North Springfield, Virginia. A Leadership Institute brochure of 1984 listed an Advisory Board which included Senators William Armstrong, Orrin Hatch, Jesse Helms, Roger Jepson, Paul Laxalt, Steven Symms, Paul Trible, and Congressmen Phil Crane, Newt Gingrich, Ken Kramer, Trent Lott, Mark Siljander, Gerald Solomon, and Vin Weber, among others. The Institute trains young political activists, some of whom had been involved in the disruptive heckling of Mondale and Ferraro during the 1984 campaign. Blackwell told the *Wall Street Journal* that ten percent of the 400 Institute trainees had been members of Maranatha, and one of them, Claude Allen, directed young volunteers in the successful 1984 campaign to reelect Jesse Helms.

^{65.} Students for America was founded in Washington by Ralph Reed, former executive director of College Republicans. According to Fazio it soon

had led a group of students to "safe houses" in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, to meet with *contras* and one of their commanders, Indalecio Rodriguez. Fazio told the *Washington Post* (August 8, 1985), "I feel the *contras* are very honest."

Recruitment is a primary goal for Maranatha, along with attempts at establishing political hegemony on campuses. Maranatha claims to have taken over the student government at the University of Hawaii, and in the Philippines, Maranatha students at the University of the City of Manila won numerous student council positions.

On the heels of the 1986 coup in the Philippines which brought Corazon Aquino to power, Maranatha launched a special summer outreach there. Maranatha evangelists from the U.S. flocked to the Philippines to evangelize. The goal was to double the membership of the Maranatha Church in Manila and to open a new church in Makati, the financial district of the capital.⁶⁶

Maranatha has at least one church in Jamaica. A few months before the Philippines outreach, Maranatha apostle Bob Weiner led a team of 31 disciples to Kingston, Jamaica, where they preached at the University of the West Indies. Maranatha's *Forerunner* claims that 1000 students were converted to Christianity by Maranatha evangelists during a two-week period.⁶⁷

Maranatha has been working with Caribbean Christian Ministries, whose director, Rev. Geoff Donnan proposed the distribution of *The Forerunner* to 2500 Christian leaders who were on his regular mailing list.⁶⁸ The "thriving" Maranatha church in Guatemala is sending a team to start a new church in El Salvador in 1987. This operation will be led by James (Diego) Thomas who built the nearly 200-member Guatemala City church as well as the one in Honduras.

Other Streams

Aside from the major shepherding streams led by Bob Mumford and Dennis Peacocke, Gospel Outreach's Jim Durkin, and Maranatha's Bob Weiner, there are an unknown number of separate but interrelated networks. Some of the more significant are:

- Larry Tomczak's People of Destiny International (PDI), based in Wheaton, Maryland. Tomczak oversees about a dozen churches in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Florida, Texas, and California, each with several hundred to several thousand members. Tomczak is a member of the Coalition on Revival Steering Committee (see below), and has good relations with Dennis Peacocke,⁶⁹ Bob Weiner, and

relocated its headquarters to Raleigh in order to aid Sen. Jesse Helms in his reelection campaign. In August of 1985 Reed told the *Wall Street Journal*, "I think that Maranatha has gotten a bum rap." He claimed that 1,000 of SFA's 4,000 members were "from Maranatha." On July 16, 1984 Reed was lauded in *Spotlight* for setting up the Student Coalition for Truth. It included Students for America, Young Conservative Alliance of America, Students for a Better America, Heritage Foundation's Catholic Study Council, and Young Americans for Freedom. It denounced the NEA and those who run the nation's schools as liberal "dunces."

66. It is unclear just what kind of relationship Maranatha maintains with the Aquino government; one of the young converts to Maranatha was an Aquino campaign worker. *The Forerunner*, September 1986, p. 9.

67. *The Forerunner*, July 1986, p. 6.

68. *Forerunner*'s mid-1986 special issue "Maranatha Special World Harvest '87 Issue", which also covers operations in other countries; also Caribbean Christian Ministries (CCM) Status Report, August 1986, p. 6. The CCM Board of Reference includes Gary North, Dennis Peacocke, Gary DeMar, and Paul Lindstrom.

69. Tomczak dined recently with Dennis Peacocke, who, he exclaimed, "is doing excellent behind-the-scenes work both in San Francisco and in the nation



Larry Tomczak, shepherding leader.

Gospel Outreach leaders. His recent book, *Divine Appointments*, was published by Servant Books, the in-house publishing arm of Word of God in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

In March 1986 Tomczak visited the Tyler, Texas offices of Youth With a Mission (YWAM)⁷⁰ and the Last Days Ministries of Melody Green⁷¹ in neighboring Lindale. Green's Last Days ranch attracts hundreds of young people from around the country and encourages them to participate in foreign mission work under the guidance of YWAM, Campus Crusade, Sudan Inland Mission, and Wycliffe Bible Translators, as well as in her own programs in Belize and Paraguay.⁷²

The July/August issue of *People of Destiny* magazine has a feature article by Jim Durkin, the founder of Gospel Outreach. Durkin also runs Forward Edge International, which advertises in *People of Destiny*.⁷³

Cult-watching organizations are keeping an eye on Tomczak and his "apostolic team." Tomczak's followers have been especially active in abortion clinic picketing and have been recruiting church members from the ranks of anti-abortion protestors.⁷⁴

• Great Commission International (GCI), headed by Jim McCotter and also based in Maryland, but without apparent ties to the other shepherding streams. CAIB spoke with young GCI recruiters at the Washington COR conference. They said that GCI practices shepherding, with every member assigned to a cell group which oversees individuals' spiritual and worldly growth. GCI's political arm, Americans for Biblical Government, lobbies against abortion and in favor of *contra* aid.⁷⁵

to mobilize Christian leaders for Spirit-led activism." *People of Destiny Report*, Summer 1986.

70. See "The Christian Underground," in this issue.

71. Green is a member of the COR Steering Committee, and a consulting editor of *World Christian* magazine, based in Chatsworth, California, one of the best sources of information about U.S.-based foreign missions.

72. *Last Days*, April 1984 and December 1985. The latter also extolled the case history of a young recruit to The Navigators who did mission work in Ghana. Green also approvingly cites one advocate of whipping recalcitrant children: "[F]orming the habit of ready and willing submission to your will prepares them in forming the habit of obedience to God, which is more important than anything else...." *Last Days*, December 1985. To protest abortion she gained publicity by hauling around a dead human fetus.

73. "When you join a Forward Edge short-term team, you spend 10 days to 3 weeks at the "forward edge." God uses you in ways you never imagined.... Join a Forward Edge short-term team to: Guatemala, England/Scotland, Nicaragua, China, Nepal (tentative), The Philippines. Also teams to U.S. Cities, Teen Wilderness Teams." *People of Destiny*, May/June 1986.

74. *The Cult Observer*, September 1985, p. 13.

75. Great Commission Church was the subject of an article in the May 2, 1986 *Texas Observer*, which noted the pro-*contra* organizing of Americans for Biblical Government, of which McCotter is President.

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GCI member Bruce Hallman is the media director for High Frontier, the private pro-Star Wars lobby founded by retired Gen. Daniel Graham. When asked about the relationship between his pro-Star Wars work and the popular Christian belief in Armageddon, Hallman said "no comment." Hallman is also a Washington spokesperson for Christian Voice. (See "Christian Voice," "The Christian Underground," and "Moon's Law," in this issue.)

In 1986 GCI caused confusion among Democratic and Republican Party leaders in Montgomery County, Maryland when the church ran twelve candidates for office—eight for the Republican Central Committee and four for Democratic state delegate seats.⁷⁶

- John and Anne Gimenez pastor the Rock Church in Virginia Beach, Virginia. They have been professionally and politically associated with Pat Robertson most of their careers. Their church, located only one mile from CBN, was headquarters for the 1980 Washington for Jesus rally. Rally organizer and church member Ted Pantaleo has served in several political capacities for Robertson, including first executive director of the Freedom Council. The Rock Church is one of a number of "kingdom" churches which are building post-millennial political movements and spinning off clone congregations nationwide.

The Coalition on Revival—Streams Flowing Into One River

The major apostolic streams of the shepherding movement and their activities known to date, form a seamless web of interconnections. Within the last several years, the leaders of Christian Right groups have launched an unprecedented effort toward "unity," manifesting itself in the sharing of resources and the creation of several umbrella organizations.

In 1984 Tim LaHaye formed the American Coalition for Traditional Values (ACTV) to unite politically active ministers.⁷⁷ At the same time, an effort was under way to bring the leaders of the shepherding churches together with astute political strategists in what can only be described as a "united popular front," akin to a vanguard party in (counter)revolutionary situations.

The result is the Coalition on Revival (COR), which held its third annual convention in Washington, D.C. July 2-4, 1986. CAIB attended this splashy event which culminated with a dramatic Lincoln Memorial ceremony. There COR members announced their intentions to impose their brand of the Christian World View on every aspect of society.

The conference marked a new phase of unity among Bible-thumping shepherds and shrewd political strategists. Among those present at the COR conference were:

- Jay Grimstead, founder and President of COR. Grimstead described his odyssey from believing in the imminent Second Coming of Christ and the pre-tribulation rapture to a "muscular" form of Christianity which "takes theology to the streets." "We are promoting confrontation everywhere and this means church discipline," Grimstead said, encouraging pastors to notify colleagues of individual Christians who refuse to stop sinning.

A lengthy, unpublished draft of COR's Manifesto for the Christian Church, calls for all pastors to restructure their congregations into "home cell groups" of no more than 12

76. *Washington Post*, August 17, 1986.

77. See "Moon's Law," in this issue.

COR's Requirements

The Coalition on Revival was distinguished by the rigor of its participant screening procedures.

All attendees were required to sign four itemized ideological "Commitment Sheets" and answer correctly twenty "Yes/No" written questions. They included both arcane theological references and repeated references to the literal truth of the Bible, including:

A willingness "to renounce Lucifer and all his evil works including any involvement in the occult, witchcraft, seances, Ouija boards, Transcendent Meditation, and all pantheistic Eastern mysticism...."

Acceptance of the "inerrancy of the Old and New Testaments," and agreement that the Bible "is without error in the original manuscripts...."

Affirmation of the "reality of angels...Satan...and demons...and the present activity of angels and demons in human affairs...."

And, of course, belief that "the fall of mankind happen[ed] as it is described in Genesis 3, involving a talking serpent and fruit being eaten."

In addition, opposition to abortion, adultery, and homosexuality were *de rigueur*. •

Credit: Dolores Neuman



Jay Grimstead rallies Christian soldiers to "take theology to the streets."

members accountable to each other in personal matters. The document recommends that each "sheep" be required to sign a legal statement to the effect that he or she will not take legal action if the church staff administers "discipline"—including public excommunication—for behavior deemed unbiblical.⁷⁸

• Connie Marshner, protege of New Right leader Paul Weyrich (one of the founders of the Heritage Foundation and current President of the Free Congress Foundation). Marshner, like Weyrich, is a Roman Catholic but she is also an important organizer in the battle for "traditional family values." At the COR conference, Marshner predicted that "Christian unity" would eliminate pornography, divorce, adolescent rebellion, and resentment between workers and employers.

• Colonel Doner, Chairman of the American Christian Voice Foundation. Christian Voice is famous for its publication of "moral report cards" rating candidates on their positions on social issues. At the COR convention, Doner told reporters that Dennis Peacocke had recently become his

78. Grimstead himself has a "pastoral relationship" with Dennis Peacocke, according to an internal shepherding movement letter written by Peacocke in December 1983. Peacocke has been "counselling" Grimstead and his wife Donna.



Colonel Doner, key organizer in Christian Right, is disciple of Dennis Peacocke.

pastor, and that he planned to move from the Washington, D.C. area to Santa Rosa, California in order to work with Peacocke politically.⁷⁹

• Ray Allen, President of Christian Voice. In 1984 Allen was responsible for the so-called "Texas Plan," whereby fundamentalist activists seized control of the GOP machinery in Lubbock, Texas. "Our agenda is to export this model," Allen told the Religious News Service after the 1984 election.⁸⁰ COR is the vehicle for exporting this model to California and other states. Currently Ray Allen is COR's hired public relations official; COR pays him \$2,000 per month, according to its 1986 financial statement.

• Carolyn Sundseth, formerly of the White House Office of Public Liaison for religious groups, herself a charismatic Christian. She delivered a letter of congratulations from President Reagan. Sundseth's son Christopher Sundseth, a former



Ronn Haus, president of Family Christian Broadcasting Network, advises Christians that, "a good Jew likes a good deal."

director of the Adolph Coors Company's political action committee, was a Reagan appointee at the Treasury Department until he was dismissed following a mini-scandal over his sending a vicious postcard to a California man who protested an Education Department official's statement about the U.S. being a "Christian nation."⁸¹ Carolyn Sundseth told the COR conference that she frequently had Bible studies in her White House office, and that at least once a month someone was born again there.

79. See "Christian Voice," in this issue.

80. William Bole, "The Christian Right Eyes the Republican Party," Religious News Service, printed in *Interchange Report*, Winter-Spring 1985.

81. *Washington Post*, August 7, 1985.

Rambo Contact Groups and Leading Lights

Young Americans for Freedom
 College Republican National Committee
 U.S. Council for World Freedom (WACL)
 Students for America
 Freedom's Friends (William Murray and the *contras*)
 Conservative Caucus
 Alpha 66
 American Coalition for Traditional Values (ACTV)
 Alive and Free
 National Young Vietnamese for Freedom
 Nemesis (a rightist student group active at UCLA)

John Singlaub
 Colonel Doner
 Dennis Peacocke
 Rep. Robert K. Dornan
 Dr. Donald Sills
 Jack Wheeler
 Howard Phillips
 Tomas D. Schuman (former KGB agent!)

- Tom Barlow, a rancher from Cape Town, South Africa, who urged conference participants to oppose speedy change in South Africa. "Whoever rules South Africa will rule the world for the next 100 years," Barlow said. "The United States can't even make a ball bearing without minerals from South Africa."

- Ronn Haus, President of TV-42, Family Christian Broadcasting Network in California. Haus spoke on the need for Christians to "infiltrate" and "revolutionize" the media. When asked about the problem of soliciting radio and TV advertisers in cities with lots of Jewish-owned media, Haus said to "offer yourself cheap." "A good Jew likes a good deal," he quipped.

- David Balsiger, of the Biblical News Service, co-publisher of Christian Voice's Biblical Scorecards. Balsiger also heads up a fairly new far-right grouping, the RAMBO Coalition (Restore a More Benevolent World Order). RAMBO is an umbrella for secular groups (see sidebar) involved in financing various "freedom revolutions"—better known as counterinsurgency operations—in Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, etc. RAMBO made newspaper headlines in 1986 for its series of demonstrations at Chevron-Gulf stations, protesting the oil company's business dealings with the Angolan government. Balsiger told a reporter that he soon hopes to organize Cuban exiles to stage civil disobedience actions at Chevron-Gulf corporate headquarters. RAMBO's protests are unique within rightist circles—it's not often that dedicated "conservatives" oppose red-blooded capitalists' efforts to make a buck.

- Gary North and Rousas J. Rushdoony, leaders of what is known as the "Christian Reconstruction Movement" within fundamentalism. Rushdoony runs a Christian think tank in Southern California called the Chalcedon Foundation, which issues reams of reports and position papers charging that the state cannot and should not address social issues and "proving" that "secular humanism" is a bankrupt, dying philosophy that will soon be replaced by an all-pervasive "Biblical world view." Rushdoony is an advisor to Dennis Peacocke's Alive

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Ronn Haus and Maureen Salaman

Ronn Haus's Family Christian Broadcasting Network (TV-42) broadcasts throughout Northern California from stations in Concord and Fresno. It produces not only Dennis Peacocke's "The Bottom Line," but also "Accent on Health," hosted by Maureen Salaman. Each week Salaman takes a behind-the-scenes look at how "rich doctors" do more harm than good to their patients and how corporate conspirators are plotting to destroy dairies that distribute unpasteurized milk.

Salaman is the president of the 100,000-member National Health Federation; she is also known nationally as a veteran activist in Willis Carto's Liberty Lobby. Carto has been described by civil libertarians as the most notorious anti-Semite and racial supremacist in the United States. In 1985 Carto's Institute for Historical Review lost a lawsuit to a Long Beach, California man whose family was gassed at Auschwitz. Carto claims the Nazi holocaust never took place.

In 1984 Salaman campaigned as the Vice-Presidential candidate on the slate of Carto's electoral front, the Populist Party. In the spring of 1986 Salaman led an internal power struggle within the Populist Party. She came out on the side of Carto against the less extreme American Independent Party faction. At TV-42's live filming of a Christian trade show in Sacramento last spring, Salaman said, "I'm urging people to send their money directly to the *Spotlight* in Washington, D.C." The *Spotlight*, Carto's tabloid, has the largest circulation of any far-right weekly in the United States.

Ronn Haus says he knows Maureen Salaman only as a nutritionist and health expert.

and Free organization, and Gary North's Texas-based publishing company is publishing Peacocke's forthcoming book *Christ the Liberator*. North is a so-called financial expert who teaches fundamentalists to abandon soft currency in favor of gold. North is a popular speaker on the "hard currency" lecture circuit, where he frequently shared the platform with members of the John Birch Society.

• The Caribbean Crusaders—Michael Bresnan, José González, Jimmy Hassan, and Geoff Donnan. They held a special luncheon at the COR convention, at which they announced that the theme of the "persecuted church" in socialist countries should be a new rallying point for rightwing Christians. González has since been named head of the Department of Hispanic Studies at Pat Robertson's CBN University.

Last Words

Bob Mumford, shepherding leader, delivered the opening night keynote address. Mumford said COR's mission is to legislate "the whole Bible for the whole world." Dennis Peacocke, key mover and shaker within COR, publicly pledged his allegiance to his shepherd Bob Mumford. At the opening plenary session Jay Grimstead inadvertently announced that Peacocke will be organizing a non-public network of ministers united on a county-by-county basis. Peacocke declined to elaborate on the details of this project.

"We're doing this on a very, very quiet basis," he said.⁸² •

82. Taped interview with Peacocke, July 3, 1986.

At the NRB Convention:

The Christian Underground

By Michael O'Brien*

The National Religious Broadcasters (NRB), the largest important umbrella organization of the religious Right, arose out of intense religious factional disputes in the 1940s. After much feuding with the relatively liberal Federal Council of Churches (later renamed the National Council of Churches), a number of fundamentalist churches established the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in 1942. Two years later, to counter the influence of the Federal Council of Churches in religious broadcasting, the NAE sponsored the creation of the NRB. In 1968 it had only 104 members, by 1980 there were 900.¹ By the time of its 1986 conference, membership was up to 1,125.²

The NRB Board of Directors includes the most prominent members of the religious Right: Bill Bright, Jerry Falwell, Billy Graham, Jim Bakker, Tim LaHaye, Pat Robertson, and Jimmy Swaggart, among others.

While purporting to be a national network of religious broadcasters, it is in fact among the largest activist coalitions of aggressive political organizations. Its fierce anticommunism provides a political motivation for its domestic and extensive international political operations and for its work with groups such as the Moonies and the World Anti-Communist League. Recently their anticommunism has been updated with trendy diatribes against "secular humanists." Under the cloak of religion NRB members have gained access both to favorable tax benefits for themselves and to home TV screens and radios of millions of Americans, which would otherwise have been impossible.

The National Religious Broadcasters Convention was held February 2-5, 1986 at the Washington-Sheraton Hotel in Washington, D.C. It was organized on two levels, both literally and figuratively. Above ground in the main conference halls, the NRB hosted Congressmen, Senators, White House liaisons, FCC Commissioners, and luminaries of the religious Right including Pat Robertson, Jerry Falwell, and Jimmy Swaggart.

While the major public figures paraded about in the main sessions, the most interesting and continuing event of the convention took place underground in the cavernous exhibit halls, where over 300 organizations had set up shop. Here, amid elaborate corporate displays of state-of-the-art electronic broadcasting hardware were the organizations representing the

radical Christian vanguard of the movement. Many of the groups associated with the NRB "underground" and which participated in the main events, have attributes of the "shepherding" organizations;³ some have links to the Moonies, some to anti-Semitic organizations.

The NRB Underground

One indication of the impact the extremist "underground" fringe of the religious Right has had on the NRB was symbolized by the *New Wine* magazine logo on the cover of the official folder distributed to convention participants. *New Wine* is the unofficial journal of the shepherding movement. Convention documents included the February issue of *New Wine*, with a flattering cover story on Pat Robertson, whose Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) and CBN University had exhibit booths.⁴

The *New Wine* presence at the conference was not the only indication that more was involved than mere broadcasting of religious messages. Taiwan, South Africa, and the National Guard sponsored prominent booths. High Frontier and an organization called Friends of the Americas (FOA) were also in attendance.

High Frontier

The High Frontier booth was staffed by Bruce Hallman, its "press director," who noted, "We feel there's a real turnaround on college campuses [in favor of Star Wars—the Strategic Defense Initiative—for which High Frontier lobbies]."⁵ High Frontier's director, retired Lt. Gen. Daniel Graham, the former head of the Defense Intelligence Agency and Vice-Chairman of the American branch of the World Anti-Communist League, is also a member of the National Advisory Board of Christian Voice.⁶ An August 1986 press release from the Biblical News Service (which co-publishes with Christian Voice the Candidates and Presidential Biblical Scoreboard), lists Hallman as one of two responsible "contacts," and gives an address at Christian Voice's office at the Heritage Foundation.

The other "contact" is David W. Balsiger, a member of the Steering Committee of the Coalition on Revival, President and

3. See "Shepherding," in this issue.

4. In 1987 *New Wine* was succeeded by *Christian Conquest*, a new magazine run by Charles Simpson. The board of directors of *New Wine* in 1986 included Bob Mumford, Ern Baxter, and Don Basham, who with publisher Simpson were four of the five shepherding founders. Contributing editors were Tulsa's Terry Law; R.J. Rushdoony; John Beckett, President, Intercessors for America; and Larry Christenson, Lutheran charismatic and contributing editor of Word of God's *New Covenant* magazine.

5. *Washington Post*, January 31, 1986.

6. See "Christian Voice," in this issue.

1. Jeffrey K. Hadden and Charles E. Swann, *Prime Time Preachers* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1981), pp. 80, 81.

2. *Religious Broadcasting*, February 1986, p. 4. This is the official publication of the NRB.

* Michael O'Brien is a researcher who has studied the religious Right for many years.

founder of the RAMBO Coalition, and leader of the Ban the Soviets Coalition which successfully prevented the Soviets from participating in the Los Angeles Olympic Games.⁷

Friends of the Americas

Under a lurid display of photographs of Nicaraguan refugees was the double booth of Friends of the Americas (FOA). Its chairman, former Louisiana State Legislator Louis (Woody) Jenkins,⁸ maintains extensive ties to the Christian Right through his position as Executive Director of the Council for National Policy (CNP).⁹ The CNP Board of Governors includes Gen. John Singlaub, Oliver North (giving his address at the NSC), Pat Robertson (the current CNP President), Tim LaHaye (a former CNP President), retired Gcn. Daniel Graham, Joseph Coors, and over three hundred others.

Recent articles linked Woody Jenkins directly to private and CIA aid to the Honduras-based *contras* and MISURA, a *contra* organization of Miskito Indians;¹⁰ and, according to FOA's Friends Report of Summer 1985, FOA Executive Director Diane Jenkins received the First Annual Ronald Reagan Humanitarian Award at the Nicaraguan Refugee Fund dinner on April 15, 1985 in Washington, from the President himself. A Special Edition of the Friends Report of January 1986 lists FOA operations in Honduras, Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Colombia, and El Salvador.

Gospel Crusade and Christian Retreat

Also active at NRB were the Florida-based Gospel Crusade and its sister organization Christian Retreat, over which Gerald Derstine presides as president and director. Derstine is a prominent activist in the shepherding movement¹¹ and most of his international focus is on Central America with singular hostility toward the Sandinista government, which has come under attack from his journal, *Blessings*.

Derstine claims to have been active in Honduras for 20 years and his son Phil recently delivered "3,000 boxes of relief (35 tons) to Nicaraguan refugees in Honduras," and discussed "the threat of Communism in Central America with the new President of Honduras, José Azcona."¹² Gospel Crusade's Institute of Ministry was brought to Tegucigalpa in 1982, and

⁷ Balsiger co-published the Presidential Biblical Scoreboard with Colonel V. Doner (the former Chief Strategist of Christian Voice, former National Director of Christians for Reagan, and member of the Steering Committee of the Coalition on Revival), until Doner left for California to join his pastor Dennis Peacocke. See "Christian Voice" and "Shepherding," in this issue. The current Candidates Biblical Scorecard lists Christian Voice President Robert Grant as co-publisher with Balsiger. Grant had been a member of the Executive Committee of the Coalition for Religious Freedom, formed to lobby to keep Rev. Moon out of jail.

⁸ Jenkins is also a member of The (Religious) Roundtable's Council of 56. ⁹ A call to the telephone number listed for the CNP was referred to another number which is Jenkins's office.

¹⁰ *Village Voice*, June 18, 1985; "Who's Behind the Aid to the *Contras*?", *The Nation*, October 6, 1984; "Privatizing' the War," *CAIB*, Number 22 (Fall 1984), and "Behind the Supply Line," *CAIB*, Number 25 (Winter 1986). See also Alifidavit of Daniel Sheehan, December 12, 1986, submitted in the Christian Institute suit on behalf of Tony Avirgan and Martha Honey, filed May 29, 1986, U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida.

¹¹ Derstine lectured at the Maranatha training school as early as fall 1974 and serves as Vice President of the National Leadership Conference which co-sponsored the nondenominational session of the New Orleans conference. The President of the NLC is Jamie Buckingham, editor-at-large of *Charisma* magazine. There are advertisements in *Blessings* for lectures at Christian Retreat by LaHaye, Lester Sumrall, Vinson Synan, Dick Iverson, Bob Weiner, George Otis, and Jamie Buckingham, among others.

¹² *The Truth . . . Nicaragua*, a Gospel Crusade pamphlet, p. 9.



Credit: Gospel Crusade

Phil Derstine (far left), with Adolfo Calero (center left) and Enrique Bermúdez (center right), in what he described as the *contras'* "secret map room." Derstine said the FDN leaders asked him to obliterate the faces of two of the people in the photograph. He told *CAIB* that beginning in 1985 Lt. Col. Oliver North "set up" operations between Gospel Crusade and *contra* leaders. Gospel Crusade's Nicaragua-related operations include: receiving U.S. military transport assistance for 100 tons of "humanitarian aid," providing motivational training for *contra* troops, and giving taped debriefings to State Department or CIA officers following missions to the FDN in Honduras or Nicaragua. Derstine says he has visited *contra* camps "ten or twelve times" in the past 18 months, and he has frequent private meetings with Honduran President José António Azcona.

has a 95-acre tract of land just north of the city where schools of ministry now are being held.¹³ Derstine, his son, and his daughter Joanne visited a *contra* military camp inside Nicaragua in 1985.¹⁴ Derstine also claims 128 Gospel Crusade churches in Haiti;¹⁵ but the scope of his interest in fighting communism is not limited to Latin America. The Fall 1985 issue of *Blessings* features an article by Dan Wooding, the Chief Correspondent of Open Doors News Service, on his travels in socialist countries, and the Summer 1985 issue advertises a "Praise Filled" Bible study and Christian retreat tour to Israel with Gerald Derstine.

Behind the growing operation is the \$1 million International Training Center which Derstine is completing at his Florida headquarters. It will house their Kingdom Living Institute, Pastoral Training School, and Missionary Training School, and will include a 500-seat classroom and others that will accommodate 50-100 students.¹⁶

Christian Response International

President Reagan's former White House liaison to the Christian Right operating out of the Office of Public Policy

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁴ *Blessings*, Fall 1985.

¹⁵ *Blessings*, Summer 1985, p. 29.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Fall 1985, p. 23.

Credit: Coalition On Revival



Carolyn Sundseth, former White House liaison officer, held prayer meetings there.

Liaison,¹⁷ Carolyn Sundseth, is on the seven-member U.S. Board of Directors of Christian Response International (CRI), which also ran an exhibit booth at NRB. The Board includes Kentucky State Senator Tom Riner and Oklahoma Senator Don Nickles.¹⁸ CRI's International Board of Reference includes Congressman Tony Hall, whose brother Sam was recently arrested in Nicaragua for espionage.¹⁹ CRI, the U.S. affiliate of Christian Solidarity International, established in Zurich in 1977, was incorporated in 1983 and is mostly involved in support of its Christian allies in socialist countries.

CRI's International Reference Board includes David Atkinson and Paul Vankerkhoven. Atkinson, a Conservative member of the British Parliament, is Chairman of the British Section of the International Society of Human Rights (ISHR), whose newsletter of October/November 1986 claimed that under the Sandinistas censorship has been "far greater than that under Somoza." He has "urged Western invasion of Cuba or South Yemen if [the] Soviets do not withdraw from Afghanistan."²⁰ The International Advisory Committee of the ISHR includes Otto von Habsburg, a major European supporter of the World Anti-Communist League groups in Europe. Vankerkhoven, a member of the European Parliament, and long-time stalwart of the European extreme Right, was a founder of the League Internationale de la Liberté, the Belgian branch of the World Anti-Communist League, which hosted the 1983 and 1986 WACL conferences.²¹

17. In September 1985 Sundseth left her White House post to work for the presidential campaign of Pat Robertson as Outreach Director of Americans for Robertson.

18. Riner is a member of the (Religious) Roundtable; Nickles serves as a Senatorial Adviser of the National Defense Council Foundation headed by Andy Messing, a member of the advisory board of the U.S. branch of the World Anti-Communist League.

19. Other members of CRI's International Board of Reference include: David Bruese, President of Christian Destiny and a member of the National Advisory Board of Christian Voice; Rep. Christopher Smith (Rep.-N.J.). Congressional Advisor to Christian Voice; Joon Gon Kim, Director of South East Asia for Campus Crusade for Christ; D. James Kennedy, member of the (Religious) Roundtable, former member of the Executive Committee of the Coalition for Religious Freedom; and Sen. Paul Trible (Rep.-Va.). Sam Hall was declared mentally unfit to stand trial and released by the Nicaraguans in January 1987.

20. Andrew Roth, *Parliamentary Profiles*, 1985.

21. On Vankerkhoven see generally Article 31 (Paris), November 1986, pp. 13, 14; and Serge Dumont, *Les Brigades Noires*, Brussels, 1983.

CRI has established a steering committee to guide its legal efforts on behalf of "oppressed Christians." It includes Michael Farris, attorney for Concerned Women for America.²² Farris, a member of the Steering Committee of the Coalition on Revival, was interviewed on Pat Robertson's 700 Club in March 1986 complaining about "religious discrimination against Christians." He represents the Tennessee plaintiffs who want to have creationism taught as science in the public schools.

CRI claims it was responsible for bringing to the United States from Romania Father Gheorghe Calciu, who had been a professor at the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Bucharest.²³ According to Rev. Moon's *New York City Tribune*,²⁴ Calciu had been "jailed from 1948 to 1964 for alleged fascist activities," and had become a priest only in 1972. The September 1985 *Response* featured a photograph of Calciu with his arms around CRI Director Jeffrey Collins and Tony Hall along with Congressmen Wolf and Smith "at a CRI luncheon held on Capitol Hill soon after Calciu's arrival in the United States."

Youth With a Mission

Carolyn Sundseth had been a member of Youth with a Mission (YWAM), a prominent group also with shepherding characteristics, which distributed literature at the NRB. When YWAM celebrated its 25th anniversary in 1985 Sundseth was there to read a letter from Reagan praising YWAM for "a justly renowned reputation for upholding the principles of morality and the spiritual values which have traditionally guided our nation."

YWAM literature distributed at the NRB conference cites support from Campus Crusade's Bill Bright, Pat Robertson, Tim LaHaye, NRB Executive Director Ben Armstrong, and U.S. Ambassador William Middendorf. YWAM was founded in 1960 by Loren Cunningham. By 1970 the first YWAM training center was established in Lausanne, Switzerland and over 100 exist today in over 50 countries as springboards for mission. Most offer the basic Discipleship Training School and attract an international student body.²⁵ YWAM was soon working with Vietnamese refugees and claims that "since 1979 U.N. authorities have given YWAM teams responsibility for medical aid, food and clothing distribution, vocational rehabilitation, language and cultural adjustment classes, child care, and administration in refugee camps both in Thailand and Hong Kong."²⁶

Until recently, the U.S. armed forces were closed to some forms of evangelism because of the requirement that chaplains be sponsored by a sizable and recognized religious organization. Thus a number of rightwing charismatic groups banded together to form the Dallas-based Chaplaincy Full Gospel Church.²⁷ Among the Church's "spiritual advisers" are Loren

22. *Response*, July-August 1985. This is CRI's official journal, published from its Rockville, Maryland headquarters. Concerned Women for America is run by Tim LaHaye's wife, Beverly.

23. *Response*, September-October 1985.

24. January 22, 1986.

25. GO, a glossy color-illustrated manual distributed at NRB, undated, p. 44.

26. *Ibid.*, at 78.

27. Its Senior Military Advisors include retired Brig. Gen. Charles M. Duke, Jr., and Col. H. Speed Wilson (who is active in FGBMF). Pastors/Spiritual Leaders backing it include: Larry Lea, Kenneth Copeland, Bob Tilton, Loren Cunningham, Jim Jackson, Jerry Horner (CBN), Earl Paultk, A. W. Rasmussen, Gwen Shaw, and Del Browning. The director is E. H. ("Jim") Ammerman, who was invited by Bob Weiner to address the Maranatha session in New Orleans. See "Shepherding," in this issue.

Cunningham, Larry Lea, and Kenneth Copeland. Cunningham also spoke at the Maranatha session at the New Orleans conference of the North American Congress on the Holy Spirit. (See sidebar.)

Among the literature distributed by YWAM at the NRB conference was the "GO Manual: Global Opportunities in Youth With A Mission." The 125-page booklet lists available posts in YWAM projects around the world.²⁸ The concluding 16 pages list 190 YWAM international addresses from American Samoa to Zimbabwe, with contact names, but includes the caveat on every other page to not mention YWAM in the address.

Church on the Rock

Another church exhibiting at the conference was Larry Lea's Church on the Rock, based in Rockwell, Texas, which began in 1980 and now claims over 11,000 members. Pastor Lea, who is featured on the cover of the October 1986 issue of *Charisma* magazine, is a member of the COR steering committee and is to become the new Dean of the Oral Roberts School of Theology.²⁹

Lea's church works in El Salvador with Cubie Ward's Paralife Ministries of Ft. Worth, Texas.³⁰ Ward presented a paper at the COR convention on "Opportunities in El Salvador for God's Redemptive Purpose." The June 1986 issue of Ward's newsletter, *Living Words* thanked God for one peripatetic example of the substance of this "purpose":

God sends many ministries to El Salvador to achieve His own specific purpose....One such ministry, headed by evangelist John Steer, completed an eight day tour of twelve military bases. Over 3,700 men, whose average age was eighteen, heard from [this] ex-soldier (Vietnam Veteran) how much God loves the soldier....

Brother John Steer spoke of his experience in Vietnam.... He explained that...killing for the joy of it was wrong, but killing because it was necessary to fight against an anti-Christ system, communism, was her John Steer spoke of his experience in Vietnam....

He explained that...killing for the joy of it was wrong, but killing because it was necessary to fight against an anti-Christ system, communism, was not only right but a duty of every Christian.

Intercessors for America

Lea has been given extensive space in the newsletter of Intercessors for America (IFA), whose President John Beckett is also on the steering committee of COR.³¹ The IFA, based in Reston, Virginia, organizes prayers for God to "intercede"

28. YWAM's international headquarters are in Kailua-Kona, Hawaii. From a missionary center in Hong Kong it says it sends operatives throughout Asia, including Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Thailand, People's Republic of China, Mongolia, the U.S.S.R., India, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. In its January 1986 issue *World Christian* magazine (pp. 19 ff.) described YWAM: "Scattered in 60 countries of the world are 5,100 long-term YWAM missionaries and 190 permanent YWAM bases. Last year, the organization sent out a 'whopping' 15,000 short-term missionaries, more than any other mission."

29. *Charisma*, October 1986.

30. See the advertisement in *Living Words*, September/October 1986, Vol. 2, No. 3, at p. 8. The cooperation of the two groups was further confirmed in conversations with Paralife staff.

31. Beckett is also a contributing editor of *New Wine* and a member of the Board of Directors of the (Religious) Roundtable.



Credit: NACHSWE

Larry Lea.

for America by fulsome endorsements of Star Wars and all other elements of the Reagan military and foreign policy agenda. IFA distinguishes itself by a singular interest in Freemasonry, a favorite "conspiracy" to the ultra-Right, which often writes of the "Jewish-Masonic Conspiracy."³²

IFA's executive director, Gary Bergel, who has been published on recent occasions in Larry Tomezak's *People of Destiny* magazine, also exhibited at NRB. Tomezak, a former Catholic, and member of the COR Steering Committee, was also a speaker at the New Orleans Conference where he addressed a session of the Association of International Mission Services workshop.

Other Groups

A number of other groups prominent at the NRB conference are discussed at length in Sara Diamond's "Shepherding," in this issue. They include: Maranatha, People of Destiny International, and Great Commission International. •

32. See, for example, the May 1986 issue of the IFA newsletter. The ultra-Right rarely discusses members of their own group who are involved with factions of the Masons, including Jesse Helms, and members of the notorious fascist Italian P-2 Masonic lodge.

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"Moon's Law":

"God Is Phasing Out Democracy"

By Fred Clarkson*

Over the years, Reverend Sun Myung Moon, the founder, spiritual leader, and titular head of the vast Unification Church conglomerate, has repeatedly declared that his goal is global theocracy. He has expressed his desire for political and economic control originating from centralized religious power. Moon and his organization have been consistent in their efforts to carry out this vision. They are not always successful, but they persist. What is essential to understand about the Unification Church and its related operations is that its religion and its politics are virtually inseparable. Equally important to understand is that the Moon organization¹ is an integral part of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), which in turn has played a pivotal role in the development and activities of the Unification Church.

In the U.S. the Moon organization has sought allies on many fronts, notably the New Right, and particularly the religious Right. These efforts have met with mixed success, but there is no doubt that it has made deep inroads into American political life. Where they intend going may be gauged by Moon's sermons. In 1973, for example, he declared, "My dream is to organize a Christian political party, including the Protestant denominations and Catholics, and all the other religious sects."²

The purpose of this article is to detail the religious and political origins of the Moon phenomenon in the U.S. in order to clarify the more confusing elements.³

Inside the League

The "World Anti-Communist League (WACL) is an international coalition of fascist and conservative groups and political parties founded in 1966 by agents of the governments of Taiwan and South Korea.⁴ One of the original groups was

the Asian People's Anti-Communist League (APACL). Its Japanese affiliate, *Shokyo Rengo*, became a WACL chapter in 1968. *Shokyo Rengo* (Victory Over Communism) began after a 1967 meeting between Sun Myung Moon, Ryiochi Sasakawa, Yoshio Kodama, and two of his lieutenants. Kodama was the head of Japanese organized crime, the *Yakuza*. One of the lieutenants, Osami Kuboki, became head of the Unification Church in Japan, as well as a leader in WACL. Soon afterward, WACL began indoctrinating young *Yakuza* gang members in anticommunist ideology similar to what the Moon organization was already doing in Korea with government officials. Sasakawa, an important World War II Japanese fascist leader, became the head of *Shokyo Rengo*, and Kodama its chief advisor.

Sasakawa's relationship to the Moon organization, which dates back to 1958, continues to this day, including ongoing financing of both the Unification Church and *Shokyo Rengo*, which is controlled by the Church.

Sasakawa, Kodama, and other important "Class A" war criminals were mysteriously released from Sugamo prison only a year and a half after World War II. They went on to found the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and have played prominent roles since. One fellow inmate, Nobusuke Kishi, became a prime minister. In 1959, Kishi helped establish a quasi-governmental, boat-racing/gambling franchise, which he gave to Sasakawa, who grew fantastically rich from the proceeds. Kishi was also the prime mover in establishing APACL in Japan and remained active in WACL throughout the 1960s, serving as chairman of the planning committee in 1970.

Sasakawa was described by U.S. Army intelligence as "one of the most active fascist organizers prior to the war." In the 1930s both Sasakawa and Kodama were jailed: Sasakawa for plotting the murder of a former premier, and Kodama for plotting the murder of a prime minister. Kodama was a notorious war profiteer and Japanese intelligence agent in China. "His long and fanatic involvement in ultra-nationalist activities, violence included, and his skill in appealing to youth make him a man who, if released from internment, would surely be a grave security risk."⁵

1. The Moon organization is the term used by the congressional committee investigating the "Koreagate" scandal in the mid 1970s. It is used here with the assumption that the various Moon enterprises, including the church, operate with a high degree of central coordination and common purpose.

2. Investigation of Korean-American Relations, Report of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, October 31, 1978 (hereafter, the Fraser Report), p. 315.

3. A list of the many Moon fronts is available for \$1.00 and a self-addressed stamped envelope from Steve Hassan, Box 45032, Somerville, MA 02145.

4. Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, *Inside The League* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1986) is the first book-length exposé of the World Anti-Communist League. It details the role of the Moon organization, as well as the

involvement of Nazi war criminals, fascist governments, American racists, Latin American death squad leaders, and other extremist and criminal elements that comprise much of the League's membership. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in the political context, and activities of the Moon organization. See also CAIB Number 25 (Winter 1986), for a discussion of WACL aid to the Nicaraguan *contras*.

5. Anderson, *op. cit.*, n. 4, pp. 61, 62.

*Fred Clarkson is a free-lance journalist based in Washington, DC.

Meanwhile, the first Moon missionaries arrived in the U.S. in 1959. By the early 1960s, Moon fronts had been established and were working in collaboration with the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). Indeed, shortly after the military coup which elevated Park Chung Hee to power in 1961, his KCIA director (and founder), Kim Jong Pil, stated that he intended to "organize and utilize" the Unification Church as a "political tool" (see sidebar), according to the October 31, 1978 Report of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, known as the Fraser Report.⁶

The Fraser Report, a House of Representatives investigation into Korean covert operations in the U.S., chaired by Donald Fraser (Dem.-Minn.), reveals that one of the early KCIA/Moon projects was the Korean Cultural Freedom Foundation (KCFF). The ostensibly non-profit organization quickly turned from a "cultural" to a political operation under the influence of "Honorary Chairman" Kim Jong Pil, who wanted the "Freedom Center" in Seoul, South Korea to be its principal project. Thus, by the spring of 1964, KCFF was raising funds from Americans for the Freedom Center, which was, in fact, an APACL project promoted and subsidized by the Korean government with at least \$796,231.⁷ The Freedom Center serves as the "secretariat" of WACL to this day.

In 1966, KCFF launched another KCIA project, Radio Of Free Asia (ROFA), which broadcast anticommunist programming to the region. The Korean government provided the broadcast facilities, and the KCIA controlled the programming through their psychological warfare section, called the "7th Bureau."⁸ During its period of organization, Lt. Col. Bo Hi Pak, a military attaché at the Korean Embassy in Washington, actually ran KCFF, despite a series of American figureheads fronting the Freedom Center and ROFA fundraising campaigns. Pak had been given a special discharge from the Korean Army, apparently to devote full time to KCFF in Washington. He was among Moon's principal operatives as well, and used KCFF for Church purposes. KCFF hoodwinked a number of prominent Americans, including former presidents Eisenhower and Truman to serve on its advisory board. Using their names, KCFF raised funds for their projects and some money was apparently skimmed to fund the Unification Church.⁹

The International Federation for Victory Over Communism (IFVC) was formed in 1968 in Seoul. This was Moon's principal political organization. *Shokyo Rengo*, the Japanese affiliate, was also formed in 1968. The American affiliate was incorporated in Washington, D.C. in 1969 as the Freedom Leadership Foundation (FLF). *Shokyo Rengo* hosted the 1970 WACL Conference in Tokyo, for which Moon claimed to have raised \$1.4 million.¹⁰ FLF President Allen Tate Wood attended as a "youth delegate" with several American Moonies. He later broke with Moon, gave press conferences denouncing Moon, and testified before the Fraser Committee. While visiting Korea on the same trip, Wood was instructed by Moon to "win the power centers" of the U.S. for him, beginning with academia.¹¹ Moon also told him that "part of

6. Fraser Report, pp. 118, 354.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 357-58.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 357-58.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 319-20.

11. Press Statement by Allen Tate Wood, November 15, 1979 (hereafter Wood Press Statement).

SUN MYUNG MOON His Work and His Vision



Credit: Unification Church

Moon stands before his prime target.

our strategy in the U.S. must be to make friends in the FBI, the CIA and police forces, the military and business community...as a means of entering the political arena, influencing foreign policy, and ultimately of establishing absolute dominion over the American people."¹²

According to the Fraser Report, political operations in the U.S. were at first opposed by religious "purists" in the Unification Church. However it was "pointed out to them that the Church in Japan and Korea carried extensive anticommunist political programs. They were told it was Master's expressed desire to begin political work in the United States. Thereafter, a member's objection to political activities was considered infidelity to Master and was like being disobedient to God."¹³

In 1971, Moon came to the U.S. after his immigration difficulties were overcome through the intervention of Senator Strom Thurmond (Rep.-S.C.), who had spoken at Moon's 1970 WACL conference in Tokyo. Based on interviews with ex-Moonies, Robert Boettcher, the staff director of the Fraser Committee, wrote that Moon was "appalled" by American individualism, and he considered relocating to Germany, where people "were trained in totalism." Some former members recall that Nazi films on organizing Hitler Youth were shown as examples to Moonie leaders. Nothing was more important than developing a cadre of strong leaders totally subservient to his will."¹⁴

12. Ripon Forum, January 1983.

13. Fraser Report, p. 320.

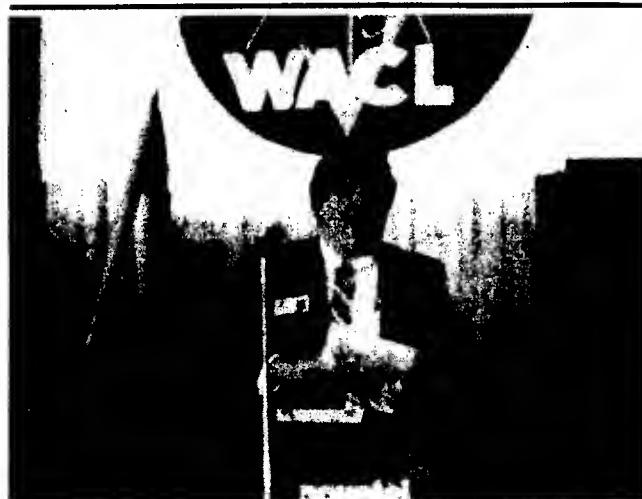
14. Robert Boettcher, *Gifts of Deceit* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), p. 166.

Wood has said that "[u]nder the aegis of American Youth for a Just Peace (AYJP)...set up by myself and a man named Charles Stephens, the Unification Church carried out extensive lobbying in the spring of 1970. This lobbying was carried out by church members under orders from their superiors...to try to indicate to Congress...strong grassroots support for a hard line in Vietnam." He also emphasized that because "the church's tax exempt status would be threatened if we carried out our political activities openly, we were careful to hide our real identity behind the guise of AYJP. During this time, AYJP received 'anonymous' donations from 'friends of the President' [Nixon] through connections with Charles Colson and Jeb Magruder. So the Unification Church in the 1970s was the recipient of money to carry out the programs of the government."

"Mr. Moon has said," continued Wood, "that 'God is phasing out democracy.' Well, whether or not God is doing it, it is clear that Sun Myung Moon wants to do this...so right now, the United States is acting as a seedbed for fascist religious cults whose objective is in the end to destroy the Constitution, and remake America in the image of an autocratic hierarchical fascist state."¹⁵

15. Wood Press Statement.

Credit: CAF



David Finzer addresses WACL conference.

Finzer and MNR

David Finzer is also involved in the counterrevolutionary war against Mozambique. There are two factions of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR or Renamo). The first, led by Mozambican exile Artur Vilankulu, is endorsed by the Conservative Action Foundation and some State Department officials. David Finzer, secretary-general of the World Youth Freedom League, the WACL youth affiliate, has assured the press that even Gen. John Singlaub supports this faction.

However, to cover its bets, the CIA, along with the Heritage Foundation and South Africa, is backing a second MNR group with offices in the Heritage Foundation's Washington building. Luis B. Serapiao, also a Mozambican exile who is an associate professor of African studies at Howard University, is the spokesperson for this group, which has also enlisted the aid of Bishop Abel Muzorewa of Zimbabwe. ●

In 1975, Moon publicly denounced WACL as "fascist" and purportedly withdrew; however, this was most likely simply an effort to keep a lower profile. The *Washington Post*, covering the 1978 WACL conference in Washington, reported that the Unification Church was absent and no longer involved.¹⁶ However, a Unification Church minister hired buses for CIA-connected Cuban exiles to attend, according to interviews with the Cubans by Jeff Stein, writing in *New York* magazine.¹⁷ It is clear that the Moon organization never really left WACL. Osami Kuboki has been a member of the WACL executive board for many years, and even hosted the 1982 WACL conference in Japan.

Significantly, the youth section of WACL, currently headed by David Finzer¹⁸ of the Washington-based Conservative Action Foundation, has reportedly received a grant from the South Korean WACL chapter.¹⁹ Finzer's group is providing seminars on "political technology" for WACL Youth, and originated the Chevron/Gulf boycott—a campaign which received support from the RAMBO Coalition (see sidebar in "Shepherding," in this issue)—designed to highlight the efforts of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA to overthrow the government of Angola.

"An Automatic Theocracy"

While WACL generally promotes fascist political programs, when the Moon organization is involved, the messages released are more explicitly theocratic. Essentially, Moon's followers believe he is the new Messiah, the second coming, not of Jesus but of the Messiah. Moon says that God told him: "You are the son I have been seeking, the one who can begin my eternal history."²⁰ He says that God has revealed his plan to him and that he has spoken with Jesus, Moses, and other great historical religious figures.

Moon intends to bend the U.S. to "God's will," which will lead to a final war with Soviet communism, and finally to the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth. According to *The Divine Principle*, the basic theological work of Unificationism, World War III is "inevitable". This war may be fought with weapons, or with "ideology," in order to "subjugate and unify the Satanic world." The organization created to refine and promote this ideology appears to be CAUSA (see sidebar) which the *Unification News* describes as an "ideological movement," which "unites all religious people as a God-accepting force against the God-denying forces such as communism."²¹

The Divine Principle denounces the tripartite constitutional system of western democracies, stating that "Since the Constitution is not made of God's words" the three branches of government "cannot help opposing and conflicting with one another, and lack mutual harmony and order."

Moreover, in 1973, Moon said that "American style democracy" is "a good nursery for the growth of communism."²² Ten years later he told his annual International Conference for the Unity of the Sciences (ICUS) that "neither Democracy nor Communism provides the means to cure the ills of society.... Not only has Democracy been unsuccessful

16. Paul Valentine, "The Fascist Specter Behind the World Anti-Red League," *Washington Post*, May 28, 1978.

17. *New York Magazine*, September 10, 1979.

18. See "Christian Voice," in this issue.

19. *Searchlight*, October 1986.

20. Boettcher, *op. cit.*, n. 14, p. 31.

21. *Church and State*, May 1986.

22. Fraser Report, p. 314.

at this task, but it has proved itself unable to resist and overcome the destructiveness of Communism.... What is needed is a third alternative, a movement based on a new understanding of truth...this is the Unification Movement, with Unification ideology."²³

Echoing Moon and *The Divine Principle*, Bo Hi Pak told an audience composed largely of retired American and Asian military officers in May 1985. "We believe we are at war. This Third World War began long ago. This war will not be fought just militarily. A fundamental characteristic of this war, we feel is the ideological battle." Evidently referring to the Soviet Union he continued, "The enemy of our freedoms and our faith in God regards this war as total war, and he feels bound by none of our religious convictions of right behavior. He utilizes everything as a weapon in this war, not only in the military field, but also in the areas of politics, economics, education, communications media, arts, and even sports." He called it an "inevitable showdown" that "may occur with the next ten years."

23. "Absolute Values and the New Cultural Revolution," 12th International Conference on the Unity of the Sciences, Chicago, Illinois, 1983, pp. 17-18.

Thus the Moon organization has been consistent over the years, from their basic book through the speeches of the Master and his most prominent disciple. One former member observed that Moon's teachings "were often referred to by other members as an 'ideology' that would change the political systems of the world. It was made clear to me that so long as the church-related aspects of the group were emphasized, Moon's followers would be in a protected position as far as first amendment religious freedom was concerned, and be able to take advantage of the tax laws as well."²⁴

Moon's theocratic aspirations are well documented in a series of speeches and sermons from the 1970s, compiled under the title *Master Speaks*. In 1973, for example, Moon declared that "[w]hen it comes to our age, we must have an automatic theocracy to rule the world. So we cannot separate the political field from the religious.... Separation between religion and politics is what Satan likes most." In Moon's kingdom, Korea would be the central nation; the Rome of a new Empire. What is more, "In the ideal world centered upon God, everyone will speak only Korean, so no interpreter will be

24. Fraser Report, p. 316.

The CAUSA Kingdom

CAUSA is the principal political arm of the Unification Church. It was founded in 1980, following an exploratory tour of Latin America countries, during which Bo Hi Pak met with key rightwing and military leaders. CAUSA's main activities from 1980-1982 were arranging ideological indoctrination seminars for political, military, and other leadership groups all over the continent. In 1983, CAUSA North America was founded, and began organizing similar seminars in the U.S. Although originally known as the Confederation of the Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas, by this time the "Unification" had been changed to "Unity" in an apparent effort to distance CAUSA from the taint of the church.

Whatever its name, control of the organization by the Unification Church has been continuous. The directors of CAUSA International are all serious Church members. According to an internal CAUSA strategy memo dated January 1984,¹ the CAUSA directors proposed to "cooperate so as to best support Our True Parents [Mr. and Mrs. Moon] and Colonel Pak in this campaign to find 70 million members.... We in CAUSA have been called by True Parents to participate in a most crucial campaign which will focus upon recruiting 70 million members within the coming two years." The "directors" of CAUSA are the department heads within the organization. The "principal participants" in the meetings which led to drafting the document were: Antonio Betancourt, Thomas Ward, William Lay, Joe Tully, Takeshi Furuta, Frank Grow, Celia Roomet, Roger Johnstone, David Decker, and Tony Colombrito. Significantly, the CAUSA directors planned to learn from "the Japan IFVC's (International Federation for Victory over Communism, or *Shokyo Rengo*) drive for 3.5 million members." The IFVC model was to aim for leaders, mostly political leaders "and when the leader committed himself, he also committed his movement."

Takeshi Furuta is apparently the key liaison between the

Japanese and the American organizations. While a director of CAUSA, Furuta was a member of the Japanese delegation to the 1985 WACL conference in Dallas. At the 1986 WACL conference, Osami Kuboki, Furuta, and their wives were the Japanese delegates.

Meanwhile, the CAUSA regional advisors attending the 1985 U.S. CAUSA conference in San Francisco, were also all Unification Church ministers. On the agenda of events for 1984, along with numerous ideological conferences, was a media tour of Asia, ostensibly under the auspices of the World Media Conference (WMC). WMC is purportedly a project of News World Communications, the parent company of the *Washington Times*. However the CAUSA document suggests that it was planned, if not organized by CAUSA. The Asian tour was led by former U.S. Ambassador to Japan Douglas MacArthur, and delegates met with Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone, among other leaders in Asia. Similar tours have been organized to Central America, Western Europe, and the Soviet Union.

Once limited to the Western Hemisphere, since 1983 CAUSA has become a global project with significant activities on every continent. The general thrust of the CAUSA seminar is anti-communist education from a historical perspective. The CAUSA antidote to communism is "Godism", which is simply the Unification Church philosophy without Moonist mythology.

Bo Hi Pak offered a CAUSA perspective of the Godist or Moonist Kingdom, when speaking of Paraguayan dictator Gen. Alfredo Stroessner. "I believe he's a special man, chosen by God to run his country."² This echoes an earlier revelation by Moon who said of the 1961 military coup of Korean dictator Park Chung Hee: "God set up a powerful new leader, the present president of this Korea, and the new order in our society."³

2. Christianity and Crisis, October 28, 1985

3. Fraser Report, p. 353

1. CBS News, "West 57th Street," May 14, 1986.

necessary.²⁵

Moon's religion-is-everything ideology includes the economy. He says that under his system, "even in Japan and Germany, the people will not buy products from their own country, but will buy according to centralized instructions. What kind of system of thought or economy can function to give these centralized instructions? Religion is the only system that can do that."²⁶

Moonism also transcends biology. Church members are considered the "True Family" and Moon and his wife are the "True Parents." Members celebrate as birthdays the day they joined the Church. Anthropologist Willa Appel has written of messianic cults and how this aspect is characteristic of many groups: "For both messiah and followers, entrance into a messianic movement constitutes spiritual rebirth. The messiah is reborn as God's Second Son, his followers as his children. The recruitment process that the messiah undergoes is repeated by his followers. They too are required to give themselves up to God (in the person of his stand-in, the messiah) and forced to renounce their pasts, worldly possessions, attachments and ideas." As for the messiah, "He is the Savior, destined to rescue the world from imminent destruction and they are the Chosen People who will implement his mission."²⁷

"A Movement Like Le Pen's"

Moon's political operations have taken many forms. In Brazil, for example, CAUSA/Brazil has organized a long-term campaign to collect eight million signatures on an "anti-communist manifesto." They plan to use these petitions to pressure the Brazilian Congress.²⁸ At stake is the Brazilian Constitution, which is to be drafted by the new Congress. The head of CAUSA/Brazil says 57 candidates received "logistical but not financial support." He said "we are forming the future base for a large party, though at present we are still apolitical" and "we wanted to form a movement like Le Pen's in France."²⁹

Le Pen is the leader of the fascist National Front which, according to the British journal *Searchlight*, has close ties to the Moon organization. *Searchlight* reported that "according to Le Pen's estranged wife, CAUSA is an important financier of the National Front." The head of CAUSA in France was a member of the French delegation to the 1986 WACL conference in Luxembourg.³⁰

CAUSA conducts petition campaigns in the U.S., although its petitioners are often very secretive about their affiliations. They frequently refuse to identify themselves or to say what

the petitions will be used for. In Madison, Wisconsin for example, a Moonie would not tell a reporter "who would have access to the information, or what purposes the names and addresses would serve."³¹ However, internal CAUSA strategy documents, originally revealed by CBS News,³² suggest a broader purpose (see sidebar on CAUSA). The November 1986 CAUSA newsletter claimed that "7.5 million Americans have signed the CAUSA petition, stating their agreement with CAUSA's goal to affirm a God-centered morality, uphold freedom for all, and educate people about the dangers of atheistic communism."

The Moon organization has a long history of electoral activism. The Fraser Report noted that they, in alliance with "powerful rightwing figures in Japan, such as Ryiochi Sasakiwa,...openly participated in election campaigns there."³³ Even before Moon came to the U.S., he had high ambitions. Allen Tate Wood told the Fraser committee that the Moon organization sought to gain enough influence in the U.S. to be able to "dictate policy on major issues, to influence legislation, and to move into electoral polities."³⁴

After American Youth for a Just Peace was disbanded in 1971, its co-founder Charles Stephens moved to New York, and ran (unsuccessfully), first for the State legislature in 1972, and for Congress in 1974. In both campaigns, FLF provided "volunteers." Also in 1974, the Moon organization provided considerable support for Republican Louis Wyman in his unsuccessful bid for the U.S. Senate seat from New Hampshire. Wyman reportedly promised to hire a church member for his staff if he won.³⁵ Vengeful Moonies converged on Minnesota in 1978 in a successful effort to defeat Rep. Don Fraser, the sponsor of the congressional investigative report on Koreagate, in the Democratic Senate primary.³⁶ Moon called Fraser's defeat an "act of God."



Credit: Unification Church

Congressman Donald Fraser (Dem.-Minn.) during Koreagate hearings.

The Moon organization's party of choice has always been the Republicans, and the New Right of the GOP in particular. This relationship, epitomized by Moon's VIP seat at the first Reagan inaugural, has been denounced repeatedly by the mod-

25. *Ibid.*, p. 314.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

27. Willa Appel, *Cults in America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983) pp. 49-50. The Moon organization has used classic brainwashing techniques to gain and keep recruits. Bereaved parents and friends have sometimes resorted to various forms of "deprogramming." This moral and legal twilight zone has been much discussed elsewhere. Appel's book describes how various forms of cult brainwashing work. This is significant in this story because of the religious and political totalitarianism advocated by the Moon organization.

28. Protestant fundamentalist and Pentecostal sects in Brazil also organized to try to influence the November 1986 elections. Alarmed about the purpose of this activism, the Catholic Church wrote to the Vatican: "There are indications this was part of American geo-political strategy as well as that of nationalist, or rightwing military governments. Certain groups may have been infiltrated by the CIA." *Independent* (London), October 8, 1986.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Searchlight*, October 1986.

31. *The Daily Cardinal*, September 25, 1986.

32. CBS News, "West 57th Street," May 14, 1986.

33. Fraser Report, p. 319.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

35. Boettcher, *op. cit.*, n. 14, pp. 162-64.

36. *The Nation*, March 31, 1979.

erate Republican Ripon Society. Ripon president Rep. Jim Leach (Rep.-Iowa) wrote that the "ties between the New Right and Moon undercut the New Right's *raison d'être*. A political movement basing its appeal on old-fashioned patriotism and family values simply cannot justify alliance with a cult that preys on the disintegration of the American family and advocates allegiance to an international social order operating with cell-like secrecy."³⁷

The FLF, though apparently supplanted by CAUSA as Moon's U.S. political arm, is still occasionally active. In May 1984 FLF paid for three Republican Senate staff members, representing Senators Robert Kasten (Rep.-Wisc.), Steve Symms (Rep.-Idaho), and William Armstrong (Rep.-Colo.), to "fly to Central America where they met with government leaders and U.S. Embassy officials in Honduras and Guatemala and joined the official U.S. observer delegation to the Salvadoran election."³⁸

Convicted Felons

In 1984, Moon entered Danbury Federal Prison to serve an 18-month sentence for conspiracy to file false tax returns, to obstruct justice, and to commit perjury.³⁹ The Moon organization claims that Moon and his co-defendant Takeru Kamiyama were unfairly prosecuted due to racial and religious intolerance on the part of the U.S. government. Remarkably, the Moon organization has used the disaster of Moon's imprisonment to benefit its public image. Across the political spectrum, many people offered grudging support for Moon because they believed he was mistreated by the judicial system. The Moon organization has skillfully exploited these sentiments, and indeed, had a major role in creating them. What began as a campaign for "religious freedom" has become a multi-faceted strategy to further the Moonist agenda. In 1984, Bo Hi Pak said that "freedom of religion has become a major issue in America, and Reverend Moon is the rallying point."⁴⁰ Echoing this theme, New York Unification Church leader Ken Sudo told fellow Moonie leaders in May 1985 that, "Father went to Danbury as the leader of the Unification Church, but when he comes out, he must be the leader of the Free World."⁴¹

If Moon had only failed to pay income tax on \$160,000 he would not ordinarily have been prosecuted on criminal charges. But evidence of willful violation of the law made criminal prosecution inevitable. In 1973, tax lawyers and accountants told Moon's representatives to keep his personal assets separate from those of the Church. Kamiyama ignored this advice and prepared Moon's taxes under Master's personal supervision. They forged and backdated ledgers to hide Moon's

37. *Ripon Forum*, January 1983.

38. *Washington Post*, September 16-17, 1984. An edited version appears in the *Cult Awareness Network News*, June 1985. CAN, P.O. Box 608370, Chicago IL 60626.

39. As summarized by the Court of Appeals, Moon and his co-defendant, Takeru Kamiyama, were both charged with "conspiracy to file false federal income tax returns, to obstruct justice, and to make false statements to government agencies and to a federal grand jury." Moon was also charged with three counts of filing false returns, and Kamiyama was charged with aiding and abetting two of the false filings. Kamiyama also faced two other charges of obstruction of justice and five charges of perjury. The defendants were convicted of all charges; on appeal, one of Kamiyama's perjury convictions was overturned; all the other convictions were upheld. The "Messiah defense" notwithstanding, the Supreme Court declined to review the case.

40. Proceedings of the 7th World Media Conference, November 19-22, 1984.

41. Fred Clarkson, "The Manifest Sins of Sun Myung Moon," *Christianity and Crisis*, October 28 1985. Back issues are available from: 537 West 121 Street, New York, NY 10027.

assets within the Church's. The prosecution proved, among other things, that the paper used to falsify the 1973 records was not even manufactured until 1974.⁴²

Moon's defense on appeal, (known as the "Messiah defense") is consistent with his theocratic ambitions. Moon claimed that some of his followers believed he is "potentially the new Messiah," the "embodiment" of the Church, and thus exempt from personal income taxes. The court held, however, that even Messiahs are not exempt from taxes, and have a status as an individual distinct from the church. Freedom of religion is "subordinate to the criminal laws of the country." The court ruled that "To allow otherwise would be to permit church leaders to stand above the law."

Moon as Martyr

The Moon-as-martyr campaign has been orchestrated by the Moon organization, public relations firms, and grantees. The most prominent example is the Washington-based Coalition for Religious Freedom (CRF) which, according to CRF president Don Sills, has received at least \$500,000 from Moon sources.⁴³ A prominent CRF spokesperson and executive committee member is Joseph Paige. As Executive Vice President of the Black Baptist Shaw Divinity School, Paige received \$60,000 from the Unification Church for his school, which in turn gave Moon a much publicized honorary doctorate. Paige is also active in CAUSA.⁴⁴

In 1984, the Association of Concerned Taxpayers, headed by then Rep. George Hansen (Rep.-Idaho), started CRF.⁴⁵ A CRF fundraising letter signed by Hansen declared that "a deadly government assault against religion has erupted in America [and] powerful government forces are moving quickly to smash the great constitutional guarantees protecting the freedom of religion." Hansen strongly objected when the IRS withdrew tax-exempt status from Bob Jones University because of racial discrimination and policies against interracial dating. He also condemned the state of Nebraska for arresting fundamentalist Everett Sileven after Sileven refused to allow teachers at his private school to be certified by the state as required by state law.⁴⁶

The obstacle to "religious freedom" as defined by Moon and much of the Christian Right, is "secular" government, which they see as a stepping stone to "Satanic, atheistic, Communism." Bo Hi Pak declared that the world is a battleground between "God and no God."⁴⁷ CRF claims that the Moon pro-

42. The Moon case has been discussed in more detail in *Christianity and Crisis*, October 28, 1985; the *New Republic*, August 26, 1985, and the *Sacramento Bee*, September 15, 1985.

43. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 27, 1986.

44. Clarkson, *Op. cit.*, n. 41.

45. Hansen himself was later jailed for fraud and failure to disclose loans and profits from rightwing oil baron Nelson Bunker Hunt to his wife, as required by congressional disclosure rules. He was recently paroled. Joseph Paige has also served time. According to a *Washington Post* account (August 14, 1973), Paige and a co-conspirator formed a "non-profit corporation... falsely representing it as part of the [Federal City] college, for which Paige was Dean] and diverted checks written on the \$230,000 federal education grant into a special...bank account from which they drew checks for personal use." The criminal records of Moon, Hansen, and Paige have led Washington insiders to refer to CRF as the "Coalition of Religious Felons."

46. These, and the Moon case, have been a major rallying point for the religious Right against what Hansen calls a conspiracy by "government planners." Elsewhere, "independent" churches have refused health and safety inspections of churches, schools, and orphanages, as well as state licensing of child care centers. These are usually based on a refusal to submit to "secular authorities" and the claim they serve only the higher authority of God.

47. Fred Clarkson, "'Privatizing' the War," *CIAIB*, Number 22 (Fall 1984).

secution and the alleged attack on religion by government "is largely the result of the ungodly secular humanist philosophy that has contaminated our schools, the media, and the various levels of government." The 1985 CAUSA Lecture Manual stated that "in the United States, and intermediary stage prior to communism may be secular humanism."⁴⁸

The CRF executive committee has developed rapidly since 1984, to include most of the major televangelists, such as Tim LaHaye, Jerry Falwell, James Robison, Rex Humbard, D. James Kennedy, and Jimmy Swaggart. Recently, the Moon organization opened an international front in its "religious freedom" campaign. According to Moon's *New York City Tribune*, the World Council on Religious Liberty (WCRL) was founded in December 1986 at a conference in Geneva, Switzerland. The Chairman of WRCL is Joseph Paige, and its "Chairman of the North American Caucus" is Don Sills. They have recruited Dr. Robert G. Muller, assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, as chairman of the Council's International Advisory Committee. The Council's headquarters are in Raleigh, North Carolina, which is also home to Paige's Shaw Divinity School.⁴⁹

Gray Areas

While "Father" Moon served time, his followers organized

48. Clarkson, *Op. cit.*, n. 41.

49. *New York City Tribune*, December 10, 1986.

an elaborate public relations campaign which included the religious freedom campaign, efforts to get Supreme Court review of the Moon case, and finally a campaign to get Moon pardoned. The Moon organization hired, among others, the public relations firm of Gray and Co., headed by Robert Keith Gray, a former Reagan campaign official. In early 1984, according to sources familiar with the incident, Gray and Co. director Robert B. Anderson solicited the signature of prominent Washington Rabbi Joshua Haberman for Hansen's religious freedom petition to President Reagan. The petition was general in nature, but was then used in CRF's direct mail blitz. Haberman withdrew, saying he had been deceived and that his name was being used to advance causes which he did not support.

Robert Anderson, a former Treasury Secretary in the Eisenhower administration, was already involved with the Moon organization at the time. He spoke at the founding conference of CAUSA North America in Montego Bay, Jamaica in 1983. He also headed a Moon-funded front known as the Global Economic Action Institute from 1983 to 1986. He was succeeded in this post by former Senator Eugene McCarthy.

Gray, who co-chaired the 1981 Reagan Inaugural Committee, was the first President of the Georgetown Club, an elite social club financed by his friend, KCIA operative Tongsun Park (see sidebar). According to a former KCIA director, the Georgetown Club was a KCIA front used by Park to facilitate

The KCIA Connection

The Moon organization was central to the Koreagate scandal of the 1970s. The tale goes back before the 1961 military coup that brought Park Chung Hee to power. The House of Representatives' investigation of the scandal, headed by Rep. Donald Fraser (Dem.-Minn.), summarized some of this early history:

In the late 1950s, Moon's message was favorably received by four young, English-speaking Korean Army officers, all of whom were later to provide important contacts with the post-1961 Korean government. One was Bo Hi Pak, who had joined the ROK (Republic of Korea) Army in 1950. Han Sang Keuk...became a personal assistant to Kim Jong Pil, the architect of the 1961 coup and founder of the KCIA. Kim Sang In retired from the ROK Army in May 1961, joined the KCIA and became an interpreter for Kim Jong Pil until 1966. At that time, [Kim Sang In] returned to his position as KCIA officer, later to become the KCIA's chief of station in Mexico City. He was a close friend of Pak Bo Hi and a supporter of the Unification Church. The fourth, Han Sang Kil, was a military attaché at the ROK embassy in Washington in the late 1960s. Executive branch reports also link him to the KCIA. On leaving the service of the ROK government, Han became Moon's personal secretary and tutor to his children....

In the period immediately after the coup, Kim Jong Pil founded the KCIA and supervised the building of a political base for the new regime. A February 1963 un-evaluated CIA report stated that Kim Jong Pil had "or-

ganized" the Unification Church while he was KCIA director and had been using the Unification Church "as a political tool."¹

Though the Fraser report noted that "organized" is not to be confused with "founded," since the Unification Church was founded in 1954, "...there was a great deal of independent corroboration for the suggestion in this and later intelligence reports that Kim Jong Pil and the Moon organization had a mutually supportive relationship, as well as for the statement that Kim used the Unification Church for political purposes."² The report also notes that the four above named Moonic army officers played key roles in early ROK/U.S. relations. Han Sang Keuk was a translator for Park Chung Hee when he met with President Kennedy in November 1961. And Kim Sang In accompanied Kim Jong Pil when he visited Washington in 1962, where they were briefed by the CIA, FBI, and Defense Department. One of their escorts was Bo Hi Pak who was a military attaché at the ROK embassy in Washington at the time. Pak was also reportedly the liaison to the American intelligence community.³

The Fraser Committee also "obtained a copy of Kim Jong

1. Investigation of Korean-American Relations. Report of the Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives, October 31, 1978 (the Fraser Report), pp. 354, 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

3. Robert Boettcher, *Gifts of Deceit* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1980), p. 40.

"lobbying activities" in the 1970s.⁵⁰ For at least the past few years, Gray and Co. has been registered as a foreign agent for Japan and South Korea.

The pardon campaign failed. However, four months after his release from prison, Moon visited Korea where, in the Olympic stadium, a rally of about 30,000 people was hosted by his original political organization (still a part of WACL), the International Federation for Victory over Communism (IFVC). According to the *London Times*, no senior Korean government officials were present. However, Osami Kuboki read a message of support from Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone. Kuboki said both Nakasone and former Prime Minister Kishi had "interceded on Moon's behalf with President Reagan." According to the *Times* of London, Nakasone "telephoned the President because of Mr. Moon's status as an international leader, while Mr. Kishi, a supporter of the Unification Church in Japan, had written to the President three times."⁵¹

Kishi, who was a WACL leader in the late 1960s, is also involved with CAUSA's International Security Council (ISC). ISC's purpose includes organizing retired military officers of the Western Alliance, and holding anticommunist conferences. Kishi also co-chaired Moon's 1984 World Media Conference in Tokyo.

50. Jim Hougan, *Secret Agenda* (New York: Ballantine, 1984), p. 145.

51. *Times* [London], December 17, 1985.

Pil's itinerary...which showed that [Kim Sang In] was part of the entourage which toured the United States, meeting numerous U.S. officials. While in San Francisco, Kim Jong Pil...met secretly with a small group of Unification Church members who were among Moon's earliest followers in the United States." A person present at that meeting "recalled that Kim [Jong Pil] told Unification Church members that he would give their movement political support in Korea, though he could not afford to do so openly."⁴

All this serves as a backdrop to the Koreagate scandal. The Moon organization, as noted above, cooperated closely with Kim Jong Pil in establishing the Korean Cultural Freedom Foundation as a mutually beneficial political operation. However, as of at least 1970, Park Chung Hee and his associates developed multifaceted plans to influence and subvert the U.S. Congress and Executive Branch, primarily it seems, to assure continued U.S. military presence in South Korea. Also involved were efforts to influence trade legislation, discredit opponents of the Park regime in the U.S., influence the U.S. academic community, influence the U.S. news media, and a host of other activities, many of them illegal. The key areas of the scandal, as exposed by the congressional investigations, were bribes and campaign contributions made to Members of Congress and Senators. Several were indicted and jailed. For most others, there was apparently insufficient evidence for prosecution. Much of the congressional influence scheme was organized by Tongsun Park, a KCIA agent and businessman. Kim Sang In, a frequent visitor to Park's house, and traveling companion, was believed by congressional investigators to have been Park's supervisor or

4. Fraser Report, p. 355.



Credit: CAUSA

Nobusuke Kishi, Japanese war criminal, founding member of WACL, and CAUSA official.

Kishi's involvement underscores the importance of Japan to the Moon organization. Despite its Korean roots and the historical animosity between Korea and Japan, the Unification Church has had a limited popular following in Korea and very large support in Japan. Indeed, its predominant source of funding has been Japan. The *Washington Post*, quoting a for-

"control agent." During this period, the early 1970s, Kim Sang In was an aid to the KCIA Director Lee Hu Rak, and was later KCIA Station Chief in Mexico City. The Fraser Report also notes that he "served for a time as liaison to the U.S. CIA."⁵

Kim Sang In has, since at least 1982, been executive Vice President of the parent company of Moon's *Washington Times* newspaper, News World Communications (NWC). Bo Hi Pak is President of NWC, as well as CAUSA, and the still existent Korean Cultural Freedom Foundation (KCF). Han Sang Keuk later became the Korean Ambassador to Norway,⁶ and is currently involved in CAUSA's International Security Council.

As for the Koreagate scandal, the Korean influence scheme apparently had its origins in a desire to emulate successful foreign governmental lobbies in the U.S., notably Israel and Taiwan ("the China Lobby").⁷ There were plans to raise hundreds of thousands of dollars in commissions on rice deals, which in turn would be spent on congressional bribes and other expenses; to infiltrate Congress, the White House, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. While there was no evidence the KCIA succeeded in infiltrating the White House or the Pentagon, KCIA agents were found to be on the staffs of Rep. Cornelius Gallagher (Dem.-N.J.) and House Majority Leader Carl Albert (Dem.-Okla.). There were also numerous Moonies working, mostly as volunteers in Congressional offices, including Albert's. Among the "interns" who have been placed on Capitol Hill through the Conservative Youth Foundation (see sidebar) in the past year are, again, a number of Moonies, according to reliable sources. ●

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 363.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

mer ranking Japanese Moon official, reported that some \$800 million had flowed from Japan to the U.S. Unification Church over the preceding nine years (1975-1984).⁵² Where the money went is a matter of intense speculation. Some was invested in businesses and real estate. Hundreds of millions have by now spent on Moon's major publications, notably the *Washington Times*, the *New York City Tribune*, and the newsweekly *Insight* magazine. But clearly too, Moon money has been invested in domestic American politics; and the funds documented here are but the tip of the iceberg. (See sidebar.)

Inside the New Right

Part of Moon's U.S. strategy has been to seek alliances with the religious Right. However, the relationship has been highly controversial within the movement. While Moon money is widely rumored to be a major financial underpinning of the New Right, it is often kept secret because so many conservatives find the Moon organization repugnant.

Jerry Falwell of the Moral Majority, and one of the founders and executive committee members of the Coalition for Religious Freedom, dropped his support for Moon in early 1984. His spokesperson, Ron Godwin, denounced as "peculiar" those who take money from a church whose "founder believes he's divine.... They're taking money from a cult whose doctrines are 180 degrees opposed. It's a little like the Jewish National Fund accepting money from Arafat."⁵³

But by August 1985, Falwell had cut short a tour of South Africa to appear at a press conference at Moon's God and Freedom Banquet. Both events were organized by CRF. Godwin later became the business manager of *Insight*.

In a letter to Bo Hi Pak, taped onto a cassette by Rev. Tim LaHaye of the American Coalition for Traditional Values (ACTV is a political coalition of televangelists), LaHaye thanked Pak for providing "timely" and "generous help" in connection with an "extremely expensive" move of ACTV's headquarters from California to Washington, DC.⁵⁴ Like Falwell, LaHaye was one of the founders and executive committee members of CRF. LaHaye later denied receiving money from the Moon organization.

Whose Voice Is Christian Voice?

The rightwing Christian Voice claims 350,000 members, including 40,000 ministers who become members by virtue of having responded to direct mail funding appeals. The organization, which employs 17 field organizers, stepped into the void left by the departure of the Moral Majority and ACTV from significant political activity. However, they may have overstepped their position.

Christian Voice has come under fire recently for misrepresenting itself, and for its ties to the Moon organization. Its claim to represent 45 million Christian evangelicals has been challenged, notably by Robert P. Dugan of the National Association of Evangelicals. He told *Christianity Today* magazine that Christian Voice is "not constructed to be a representative organization and its political positions may well be determined by a handful of activists meeting over lunch. They are accountable to no one but themselves." New Right leader Paul Weyrich characterized Christian Voice as "conservative first and Christian incidentally, as opposed to other

52. *Washington Post*, September 16-17, 1984.

53. Carolyn Weaver, "Unholy Alliance," *Mother Jones*, January 1986.

54. *Ibid.*

Who Does Moon Finance?

Amidst the many rumors of Moon organization funding of conservative political groups, there have been a few documented examples. Those exposed to date include:

Conservative Alliance (CALL), received \$775,000 in 1984 from CAUSA.¹

Coalition for Religious Freedom received \$500,000 in 1984 from unidentified Moon sources.²

Conservative Youth Foundation received \$250,000 in 1985 from CAUSA.³

California Republican Youth Caucus received \$5,000 in 1984 from CAUSA.⁴

Republican National Committee received \$10,000 in 1984 from Bo Hi Pak.⁵

Republican National Committee received \$10,000 in 1984 from James Gavin.⁶ ●

1. *Wall Street Journal*, December 17, 1985. This money was inaccurately reported as having gone to the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). A legal contribution to a PAC is limited to \$5,000. However, CALL, a non-profit lobbying group, shared an office and switchboard with NCPAC, and was also headed by NCPAC's Terry Dolan. The money was used for TV spots opposing trade with the Soviet Union, and to lobby Congress in favor of aid to the *contras* and for funding for the MX missile.

2. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 27, 1986. CRF head Don Sills admits to this figure. It could be much more.

3. *Wall Street Journal*, December 17, 1985. This operation, also tied to Terry Dolan, who is a director of CYF, places young conservatives in Capitol Hill internships.

4. *Ripon Forum*, October 1985. This money went towards a statewide youth conference at which a CAUSA representative spoke.

5. Federal Election Commission records show that Pak is an "Eagle," or \$10,000 contributor to the GOP. This status gives one special access to high government officials. Pak is the head of most of Moon's world-wide operations.

6. FEC records also show that Gavin is an Eagle contributor. Gavin is a long-time Moonie and political operative. He headed the "Capitol Hill Ministry" of the Unification Church during the Koreanate scandal and later served as public relations director of the *Washington Times*.

groups that are Christian first, and conservative incidentally."⁵⁵

The relationship between Christian Voice and the Moon organization has plagued them for some time. At the center of

55. *Christianity Today*, November 7, 1986. Prior to the 1986 elections, the Christian Voice political lobbying group used the religious freedom issue to attack People for the American Way (PAW), a major liberal critic of the religious Right. The PAW board includes such targets of the Right as the National Education Association, as well as such mainstream religious figures as Rev. Charles Bergstrom of the Lutheran Council for Public Affairs, and John Buchanan, a Baptist minister and former Republican Congressman from Alabama. In a 28-minute film (aired October 9, 1986 on Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network) PAW was attacked as "intolerant," "un-American," "secular humanist," "communist," and "totalitarian." Co-hosted by Christian Voice chairman Robert Grant (see "Christian Voice," in this issue) and *Washington Times* columnist John Lofton, the film was a fundraiser for the distribution of "millions" of the "moral Scorecards" (or "Biblical Scorecards") used for rating candidates' qualifications for office. The implication is that such public policy positions as the Balanced Budget Amendment and Star Wars are based on a biblical imperative.

Credit: CAUSA

**Gary Jarmin, undercover Moonie.**

this controversy is lobbyist Gary Jarmin, a Moonie from 1967-1973 who was active in Moon's Freedom Leadership Foundation and who many suspect may be a Moon agent in the New Right. A May 1981 article in *Mother Jones* raised this question. Jarmin, who was the legislative director of Christian Voice at the time, insisted, "I'm no longer affiliated with the church; I'm not a member of it and I don't consult with their people. This organization, [Christian Voice] is run by a board of directors for whom I work, which is not in any way affiliated with or controlled by the church. I think my actions speak louder than my words."⁵⁶ Nevertheless, by February 1983 Jarmin had helped organize the first CAUSA North America conference, held in Jamaica. Also in attendance were Christian Voice chairman Robert Grant and Advisory Board members W. Steuart McBirney and Ray Allen, and political strategist Colonel V. Doner.

The relationships go even deeper. The three-member board of Christian Voice's political action committee is chaired by Jarmin, and includes Rev. Don Sills of the Moon-funded Coalition for Religious Freedom. In August of 1985, Jarmin helped organize CRF's God and Freedom Banquet held in celebration of Moon's release from jail. He also led legislative workshops at secretive CAUSA indoctrination sessions for American state legislators during 1986. These events drew about 100 conservative legislators from both parties to all-expense-paid junkets, ostensibly to discuss the Constitution. A more elite version of these meetings is the CAUSA-sponsored American Leadership Conference, where Jarmin has also spoken. Jarmin has been joined at other CAUSA events by Robert Grant, who addressed the 1985 CAUSA National Conference in San Francisco. Grant currently chairs the Executive Committee of the Coalition for Religious Freedom.

Although CRF declares its independence from the Moon organization (despite the Moon funding), the current executive director of CRF is Dan Holdgrewe, a longtime Moon operative who worked for Moon's Freedom Leadership Foundation from the late 1970s to the early 1980s.⁵⁷

The Moon relationship with Christian Voice surfaced as a last-minute issue in the 1986 Colorado Senate race between Rep. Ken Kramer (Rep.) and Rep. Tim Wirth (Dem.). Kramer, who is a member of the Christian Voice Congressional Advisory Board, claimed not to know of the Moon

56. *Mother Jones*, May 1981.

57. Louis Wolf, "Accuracy in Media Rewrites the News and History," in *CAIB*, Number 21 (Spring 1984), p. 24, at 36.

connection. He told the *Denver Post*, "I'm not a Moonie,"⁵⁸ and asserted to the *Rocky Mountain News* that the Moon connection, if proven, would "be a matter of great concern to me, and I would have to take a new look at the situation.... I do not support the Moonies in any way."⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Wirth won the race.

CAUSA and the Catholic Church

While best known for its growing relationship with Protestant fundamentalism, the Moon organization has actively sought close links with the Catholic Church, particularly in Latin America.⁶⁰ Their success has been decidedly mixed. The Bishops of Honduras, El Salvador, Panama, and Japan have all denounced the Unification Church in pastoral letters. While this has put a crimp in their operations, Moonism is not without allies. The Archbishop of La Plata, Argentina sponsored the first CAUSA seminar in that country, and later awarded an honorary doctorate to Moon from the Catholic University, while he was in jail.

According to an internal strategy document dated January 1985, CAUSA views its relationship with the Catholic Church as "extremely important.... One [pastoral] letter of the Bishops in any country will considerably damage our activities. If it happens in a Third World country, all the faithful Catholics will go away, leaving us with 'non-faithful' ones, making our situation even more miserable."⁶¹

Indeed, the Honduran Bishops denounced CAUSA as "anti-Christian" and declared that the Unification Church "creates a species of material and spiritual slavery" that poses "serious dangers to the psychological, religious, and civic integrity of anyone who yields to its influence."⁶² The Japanese Bishops, noting major theological differences with the Unification Church, also "discourage all Catholics from any collaboration with it. While the Holy See is contrary to any participation by the faithful, it is even more opposed to whatsoever [sic] attendance and collaboration on the part of Catholic priests."⁶³

The principal Moon advocate within the Church appears to be Father Sebastian Matczak, a Polish priest who has spoken frequently at CAUSA conferences, and who teaches philosophy at the Unification Seminary in Barrytown, New York. The CAUSA paper notes that "Dr. Matczak, in his latest visit to Rome the past January [1984] could verify that the bad reputation of our movement is mainly coming from Latin America, while there they say that official documents from the Vatican prevent them from any relation with us."⁶⁴

Despite serious obstacles to Moonist advances on the Catholic Church, the organization claims that CAUSA has a "strong connecting point" with the Church in most Latin countries. The internal report notes, however, that the strategy of seeking relationships with the hierarchy, and inviting priests to CAUSA conferences, has generally failed. As a

58. *Denver Post*, November 3, 1986.

59. *Rocky Mountain News*, November 2, 1986.

60. Wolf, *Op. cit.*, n. 57.

61. Internal CAUSA document, January 1985.

62. *Interchange Report*, Fall 1984.

63. *Arlington [Virginia] Catholic Herald*, August 8, 1985.

64. Internal CAUSA document, January 1985. The Report is a confidential 3-year review of CAUSA/Catholic relations. Written by Roger Johnstone and Liliana Karlson, and submitted to CAUSA's Bo Hi Pak, Tom Ward, and Antonio Betancourt, the Report makes clear that their intentions are more than ecumenical in spirit: "The goal is: the CATHOLIC WORLD (80% of all Christianity). The time is: NOW! Tomorrow might be too late!"

Credit: AULA



Pope John Paul II with Moonies Tom Ward and Bo Hi Pak (circled) at AULA conference.

result, "it seems that we have to open two fronts, one in Rome, one in Latin America." The latter option emphasized secret and highly selective CAUSA conferences with priests as a way to build a core of supporters, whose favorable reports would percolate up to the Vatican. Dr. Mateczak reportedly "finds this strategy...the only way and an absolute necessity." The twin goals of this plan were to "STOP THE NEGATIVITY FROM WITHIN" (the Catholic Church) and to "Declare war to the Liberation theology."⁶⁵

It is possible that the Rome option is still viable. A new Moon unit called AULA (Association for the Unification of Latin America) was formed in Rome in December 1984.⁶⁶ AULA's second annual conference, in December 1985 in Rome, was attended by a dozen former presidents of Latin American countries and was received by the Pope. The Moon organization is skilled at using the prestige of out-of-power politicians. Two weeks later three former presidents of Colombia, and two of Costa Rica represented AULA at Moon's welcome home rally in Seoul, South Korea.⁶⁷

According to *Unification News*, AULA is drafting a proposed constitution for a "United States of Latin America."⁶⁸ AULA's constitutional specialist is Cleon Skousen, head of the National Center for Constitutional Studies, who worked closely with CAUSA in 1986, organizing conferences of conservative U.S. state legislators. According to *Church and State* magazine, Skousen is not only far-right but "believes America is a fulfillment of Mormon prophesy regarding the pre-millennial preparation of the Earth."⁶⁹

Prior to becoming the current "prophet" of the Mormon church, Ezra Taft Benson endorsed Skousen's work as having "the Lord's approval" and appeared at many Skousen events. Benson's son Mark, is on Skousen's board of directors. Skousen is the most visible link in an apparent Moon/Mormon alliance. Another important link is U.S. Senator Orrin Hatch (Rep.-Utah), who is a Mormon Bishop and has spoken at several CAUSA/Skousen conferences in the past year which

^{65. Ibid.}

^{66.} AULA is headed by José María Cháves, a longtime Moon operative. A native of Colombia, Cháves is now based in New York. He is a director of the Committee to Defend the U.S. Constitution, a Moon front group which placed full page ads in major American newspapers claiming Moon was a "Victim of a Government Conspiracy." Warren Richardson, the first director of CAUSA North America and former general counsel to the Liberty Lobby was a director at one time as was David Finzer of the Conservative Action Foundation. In 1985, Finzer took over the youth arm of WACL, and in 1986 was elevated to the executive board. See "Christian Voice," in this issue.

^{67. Times [London], December 17, 1985.}

^{68. Church and State, May 1986.}

^{69. Ibid.}

have had a disproportionate number of Mormon politicians from Utah and Idaho in attendance.

Conclusion: Moon's Law

The Moon organization is an ominous, anti-democratic element in American and world politics. Its history is synonymous with post-World War II fascism. In coalition with rightwing secular and religious groups the Moon organization is attempting to create a broad-based, mainstream fascist movement in the U.S.

The simplistic and distorted CAUSA worldview is appealing to authoritarians who glean a sense of historical importance from the notion of an imminent and ultimate battle between good and evil—where they are the good guys. It is all the more convenient that those who stand in opposition—liberals, communists, democratic conservatives, and fools—are all lumped together as forces which are either complicit with the enemy or must be ignored.

The totalist Moon ideology tells new Moonies that everyone outside the "True Family," including their biological parents, may be agents of Satan. CAUSA's philosophy expresses a similar view. Doubt about Moon, even personal doubts, may be Satan at work. Moon's law is arbitrary and totalitarian. The Moon organization's willful violation of American laws is based on theological premises which recognize neither the legitimacy of constitutional democracy, nor the legitimacy of any law, save its own. The Fraser Report, the testimony of former Moonies, media stories, and legal proceedings offer repeated examples of criminal activity. Though the Moon organization speaks of love and peace, these sentiments ring hollow when contrasted with the violent rhetoric of Bo Hi Pak and the hate-filled sermons of Sun Myung Moon. The activities of the Moon organization should be examined in this context, because despite the mendacity of the Moon organization, when it comes to politics, they mean what they say.

Letter to the Editor

Thank you for your informative article on the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Vernon Walters. This is the kind of information we need, not only in this country but all over the world. However, there is a very important detail in your article that needs some clarification.

The riots that took place in Bogotá, Colombia in April 1947, during the Pan-American Conference, which you refer to as Walters's "first brush with revolution and counterrevolution," were not the result of the Conference itself, but of the assassination, on April 9, of the populist and popular liberal leader, Jorge Eliecer Gaitán.

Gaitán, a fiery speaker, a man who rose from the bottom and was adored by the masses, was shot before he could become the next President. His death produced two days of rioting by the enraged populace of Bogotá. They were put down by military reinforcements brought into the capital from several neighboring provinces.

This is considered a very important date in Colombian history, as it signaled the beginning of modern-day Colombia.

Yours truly,

LALO BORJA

SAN FRANCISCO

Fatima

by Walter Sampson*

On May 13, 1981 Mehmet Ali Agca attempted to assassinate Pope John Paul II at Saint Peter's Square. Almost four years later, Agca told a judge in an Italian court that the attempt on the life of the Pope had been part of "the third secret of Fatima."

Was this simply the gibberish of a crazy man? No doubt it was. But ideas come from somewhere and it seems unlikely that Agca could have acquired independent knowledge of an obscure Catholic vision, much less have become converted to it, given his Sunni Moslem religious upbringing, without some coaching.

A video about Fatima shown on prime time television in several major U.S. cities used footage of the Pope slumped over, having just taken a bullet from Agca's gun. The video recalled the scene of panic in Saint Peter's Square. Actor Ricardo Montalban narrated, explaining how the assassination attempt took place on the anniversary of the vision of Fatima.

On May 13, 1917, near the Portuguese village of Fatima, three children claimed to have seen an apparition of the Virgin Mary. They were told to return the next month, when, they later said, they heard three "secrets" about coming events in the world. The first secret, one of the children explained many years later, was a vision of hell; the second was that the Soviet Union, if not converted to Christianity, would "spread her errors throughout the world...." The third secret, to which Agca referred in court, is still a secret. Montalban, reading from a script prepared by Saint Gabriel Media, Inc., insisted that the assassination attempt, falsely linked by the media to Bulgaria, and by extension to the Soviet Union, was part of the second secret of Fatima.

Was the idea of the third secret of Fatima planted in Agca's mind while in prison? Was it just a coincidence that he shot the Pope on the anniversary of the vision at Fatima? While there are no hard answers at this time, there is room for supposition. Authors Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead, in *The Rise and Fall of the Bulgarian Connection*, write that the Secretary-General of the Union of Catholic Bishops, a Dr. Hoemeyer, paid a friend of Agca's to convince Agca to say that he was hired by the KGB.¹ The authors also point out that Agca wrote a letter to Vatican authorities complaining of pressure by a Catholic chaplain in Ascoli Piceno prison, Father Mariano Santini, and they ask, "Why would Agca, a non-Catholic, require the aid of a Catholic chaplain."² Agca wrote that in prison he feared for his life because of threats made by Santini. Santini could have drilled Agca, not only to name Bulgarians as being behind the assassination attempt, but also on how Agca was part of some greater cosmic plan known as the "secrets of Fatima."

1. Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead, *The Rise and Fall of the Bulgarian Connection* (New York: Sheridan Square Publications, 1986), p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

*Walter Sampson is an investigative journalist in California.

History of Fatima

While the connection between Agca and the Fatima mystery is unproved, the historical role of Fatima as a rallying point for the right wing of the Catholic Church is not. Fatimists themselves estimate that only about two percent of all Catholics are involved with their movement,³ yet the message of Fatima has strongly interested three Popes: Pius XII, Paul VI, and most recently, John Paul II.

Fatima has long been a tool of rightwing political interests. Its strange history began in Portugal when Europe was convulsed by World War I, and revolutionary movements were rising in Russia, Portugal, Germany, and elsewhere. In Portugal there was increasing discontent stemming from food shortages, strikes, and an unpopular government, and much anger was directed against the conservative Catholic Church. In May 1917, seven months before the Portuguese government fell, three children claimed to have seen the Virgin Mary at Cova da Ira about 70 miles north of Lisbon, near the village of Fatima. The children said that the apparition told them to return to the site at the same hour and on the same date every month for the next six months. One month later they claimed to have received apocalyptic revelations pertaining to the fate of the world.



Credit: Our Lady of Fatima

Jacinto, Francisco, and Lúcia—the three children of Fatima—with whom Agca shared a vision of the third secret.

Although as many as 70,000 Portuguese pilgrims gathered near Fatima on October 13th, 1917, the apparitions were not embraced by the Church until many years later. Not until 1938 did the one surviving child, Lucia dos Santos, then a Carmelite nun, reveal the contents of two of the three secrets. Addressing a crowd of a half-million pilgrims, she explained that the first secret was a vision of hell and the second was that the Soviet Union must be converted to the Catholic faith.

In August of 1941, two months after three million German troops had advanced into the Soviet Union, Lucia dos Santos was persuaded (by those she called "God's representatives on

3. Interview with Blue Army member

earth") to put the secrets on paper and to give it to the church.⁴ In October of the same year Pope Pius XII traveled to Portugal and told Catholics to pray that the promises of Fatima be realized soon. When the German army surrounded Leningrad, Hitler precipitously announced the defeat of Soviet forces. Immediately after this, in a Jubilee message over the radio, Pope Pius XII told an audience that the first injunction of the Virgin Mary had been fulfilled.⁵

According to the interpretation of the followers of Fatima, the first secret—the vision of hell, was now realized. This implied that the second secret—the conversion of Russia, was next on God's agenda. Francisco Franco, the fascist dictator of Spain, organized 17,000 men into the Blue Division to go to the Soviet Union and help the Germans. Bishops and priests, who viewed the invasion as part of the first two secrets spoken by Lucia dos Santos, blessed their arms.

The Fatima cult did not die after the failure of the invasion of the Soviet Union. In fact, just the opposite happened. The followers of Fatima grew in size and strength, as part of the Cold War. In October 1951 Pope Pius XII reaffirmed his belief in the vision when he announced to a crowd at Fatima that he had "turned his gaze from the Vatican gardens to the sun, and there was renewed for his eyes the prodigy of the Valley of Fatima." The Vatican said that the Pope saw the sun jump about the sky, "agitated, all convulsed, transformed into a picture of life."⁶

The Apocalyptic Aspects of Fatima

Apocalyptic thinking is a very important part of political and religious cults because it gives authority to a small group of people to interpret events for the rest. Reverend Sun Myung Moon, who claims to have spoken to Jesus and Moses, once told his followers, "I am your brain." In May 1985 Ronald Reagan extolled the metaphysics of Fatima by telling the Deputies of the Assembly of the Portuguese Republic that in "simple people like the children of Fatima, there resides more power than in all the great armies and statesmen of the world."⁷

In recent years much has been written about the apocalyptic beliefs of Ronald Reagan and the Protestant Christian Right; but what about the Catholic Right? Historically, the Catholic Church hierarchy did not prophesy the end of the world. Noted New Testament scholar, Ernst Kasemann, once wrote that, "Apocalyptic was the mother of all Christian theology." That was in the days when the Christians fought against the Roman Empire for their survival. Once Christianity became the state religion, the hierarchy did not see much value in believing that the world would soon be rocked by the heavens. They liked the world as it was. In the fourth century St. Augustine interpreted the book of Revelation as a metaphor, not as a literal prediction of events. When there were revolts against the Catholic Church in sixteenth century Germany, the Protestant rebels believed their actions were part of an imminent Second Coming while the Catholic Church hierarchy stayed clear of such forecasting.

It may be that the development of nuclear arsenals had an influence on leaders' perceptions of the end of the world. Whatever the causes, the powerful, including Ronald Reagan,

4. Joaquin Maria Alonso, *The Secret of Fatima: Fact and Legend* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Ravengate Press, circa 1976), p. 32.

5. Avro Manhattan, *Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom*, Arno Press, circa 1972, p. 32.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

7. *The Fatima Crusader*, October-December 1985, p. 8.



Pope John Paul II and Sister Lucia of Fatima, discussing second secret—a vision of Russia's conversion.

who once avoided end-time belief, now occasionally champion it, and the Catholic Church is no exception.

In 1960 John XXIII became the first Pope to read the third secret and then he stored it away in the archives. There is a story that Pope Paul VI opened the envelope containing the secret, turned pale, and put it back into a drawer, never to speak of it again. On May 13, 1967 Paul VI became the second Pope to visit the Fatima shrine in Portugal, telling the crowd, "After Hiroshima, we can understand Fatima better."⁸ The third Pope to visit the shrine, John Paul II, did so precisely a year after he was shot. He donated a bullet from the assassination attempt to the shrine—a shrine he might never have visited had Agca not tried to kill him on the anniversary of Fatima. Perhaps he did see the events of May 13, 1981 as part of some greater, divine unraveling of history.

One Fatima-oriented group with significant clout is the National Committee for the National Pilgrim Virgin of Canada. It publishes a magazine called the *Fatima Crusader*. Father Nicholas Gruner, who heads the organization, gives a stormy right-wing appraisal of the world in his magazine:

Lives of millions and millions of people are literally dependent upon our response to Our Lady's Urgent Message at Fatima. Many of us will die very soon if the predicted "annihilation of various nations" takes place. This will certainly happen if people do not respond now to Our Lady's Message.⁹

TFP: Fatima and Politics

Fatimists are not concerned only with apocalypses; their fervent anticommunism calls for political activism with an arch-conservative bent. The most significant political force directly linked to Fatimists is The Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property (TFP), founded in Brazil in 1960 by Professor Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira. The U.S. branch, headed by John R. Spann, also publishes the *America Needs Fatima Newsletter* and runs the America Needs Fatima Campaign. With your \$15 contribution to the Campaign you get "our new prayer card [which] contains the full text of the special anti-communist prayer to Our Lady of Fatima."

8. Peter Hebblethwaite, "Pope and Fatima," *New Blackfriars*, October 1982.

9. *The Fatima Crusader*, October-December 1985, p. 2.

Credit: The Vatican

Credit: TFP



WACL luminaries, including Fred Schlafly, to left of Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira, visiting TFP headquarters.

TFP is a prominent force in Latin America. There, rather than looking toward the future, TFP strongly emphasizes the past. Its leaders preach more about holding back land reform and communism than they do about the secrets of Fatima. TFP makes an ideal of the old traditional Church; the Church which used to hold sacred all property rights and titles, including those of Kings and Queens. But TFP even goes further, viewing the Middle Ages as the apogee of human history. Their emblems are medieval and members and supporters decorate their homes with graphic pictures of the Crusades.

TFP has branches in the U.S., Canada, Spain, France, South Africa, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, with about 2,000 full members world-wide, virtually all wealthy and all male, about 500 to 800 in Brazil alone. The U.S. branch, founded in 1974, has an estimated 50 to 100 members.

Although TFP is small, its members have great political influence with numerous contacts to the power elite. In Brazil, the largest Catholic country in the world, there have been wide divisions in the Catholic Church between those who favor the traditional Church as a citadel for the oligarchy and those who see it based on Christian communities, working for the poor.

In Brazil, after a CIA-supported coup overthrew President João Goulart and installed General Humberto Castelo Branco, unprecedented repression followed. The TFP worked with the CIA and was active both before and after 1964 as intellectual and financial backers of the military dictatorship.¹⁰ In the TFP literature, the events of 1964 are described in these terms:

The troublesome agitations of the early 1960's helped to make manifest the exemplary attitude of the Armed Forces, which showed themselves patriotically and courageously determined to crush the agitations of the subversive minorities.¹¹

TFP established a number of training camps near Rio de Janeiro where the armed forces and police, themselves trained by the CIA, instructed TFP members.¹²

The year 1967 was significant for TFP because "societies similar to Brazilian TFP began to form in nearly all the sister nations of South America, united by ties of mutual friendship."¹³ This was the year the Chilean TFP was founded. In the 1973 CIA coup against President Salvador Allende, it proved important. Indeed, it imported counter-revolutionary techniques used in Brazil, and worked with the terrorist group, *Patria y Libertad*. The CIA coups in Chile and Brazil were

similar in many ways, including organized demonstrations by middle and upper class women. These were tested by the TFP in São Paulo with CIA support. TFP and *Patria y Libertad* sponsored a similar demonstration five days before Allende's overthrow.

Fatima in the U.S.

In 1974 TFP came to the United States. TFP supporters claim to have many "friends" in the White House and some Congressmen have sent their aides to TFP international meetings in Brazil. According to one source, several White House people visited TFP headquarters in New York and received ceremonial swords, one of the medieval emblems of the group, which they hung on their office walls.

On February 13, 1984, President Reagan sent a letter of "warm regards" to TFP President John R. Spann for the support the society had given him. The letter was subsequently printed in various TFP newsletters.

Another significant Fatimist organization in the U.S. is the Blue Army. First founded in 1947 by Rev. Harold V. Colgar, the Blue Army regards itself as exclusively religious, but in 1982 Bishop Jerome Hastrich of Gallup, Texas, a leader in the Blue Army, told a writer for the *National Catholic Reporter*, "the peaceniks would say it is better to be red than dead; we would say that it is better to be dead than red."¹⁴ This does not have a particularly religious ring to it.

One difference between TFP and the Blue Army is that TFP, though steeped in tradition, is more oriented toward politics than the Blue Army. Mário Navarro, the Brazilian-born TFP representative in Washington, the son of a Brazilian ambassador, works with such new-right figures as Paul Weyrich, Richard Viguerie, and Morton Blackwell. In 1974, almost exactly a year after the coup in Chile, some other right and new-right figures, among them Lee Edwards, Fred Schlafly, and French writer Suzanne Labin, were received by the TFP at the St. Michael's Auditorium in São Paulo.

The U.S. TFP has organized numerous anti-abortion demonstrations, particularly targeting Planned Parenthood offices. Since 1973, they have participated in the annual "March for Life" in Washington. In 1983, they placed an ad in newspapers across the country, denouncing Reagan's plan to name Henry Kissinger as the head of the administration's Commission on Central America. The ad noted that, "Kissinger symbolizes all the lack of political foresight that led to the handing over of Vietnam to the communists."¹⁵

Conclusion

Fatima is a vivid example of religion in support of particular political programs. Over the years it has changed and conformed to the interests of different rightists. As the proponents of liberation theology challenge the economic structures that perpetuate poverty, Fatima will no doubt continue to play an important part in the Catholic Right's attempts to stifle progressive change in the church.

How a Sunni Moslem named Mehmet Ali Agca really fits into the picture is not clear. If, in fact, there was something more than coincidence in the Agca-Fatima connection, someday we may know.

10. Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the People* (New York: Doubleday, 1980), p. 296.

11. Antonio Augusto Borelli, editor, *Tradition, Family, and Property: Half a Century of Epic Anti-Communism, circa 1981*.

12. Lernoux, *op. cit.*, n. 10, p. 295.

13. Borelli, *op. cit.*, no. 11, pp. 112-13.

14. Terri Goodman, "Blue Army devotion gains popularity in the U.S.," *National Catholic Reporter*, May 21, 1982.

15. Brochure published by TFP entitled "The American Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property," American TFP, P.O. Box 121, Pleasantville, NY 10507.

The Far Right Goes After Black Support

By Clarence Lusane*

A Trojan Horse of sorts is slowly edging its way into the Black community in the U.S. By political and religious means, the far Right is attempting to curry Black support for its causes. Deception and misrepresentation are the main tactics being employed in this noxious endeavor. By addressing issues of concern to Blacks, such as abortion, school prayer, starvation in Africa, minority rights, and political empowerment, a number of Blacks are being duped by far-right forces into supporting causes that are diametrically opposed to their interests.

Efforts To Win Political Support

Neither the Republican Party nor other rightwing political elements has seriously tried to win Black votes or Black support for their agenda. This has been due in part to the lack of legitimate Black political figures who will accept their rightist positions. Occasionally, however, a Black is found who will get on the bandwagon and become a spokesperson on behalf of the Right.

Recently, Black reactionaries—former Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver and Roy Innis of CORE—were persuaded to run against progressive Black Congressmen Ron Dellums (Dem.-Cal.) and Major Owens (Dem.-N.Y.) respectively. Both Cleaver and Innis were backed by far-right and neo-fascist forces. Cleaver had the support of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church and other far-right groups, while Innis embraced an endorsement from Bernhard Goetz, the New Yorker who shot four young Black men in a subway car, and

Credit: Associated Press



Roy Innis, founder of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), shakes hands with Bernhard Goetz.

spoke at meetings called by the supporters of Lyndon LaRouche (see below). These races were mounted simply to harass Dellums and Owens because, in fact, neither Cleaver nor Innis has any real base in the Black community. Both were severely trounced in the Democratic Party primaries.

* Clarence Lusane is a freelance writer who frequently contributes to *CAIB*.

Some noted evangelists are making inroads in the Black community. Pat Robertson's co-host on his "700 Club" television program¹ is Black conservative Ben Kinchlow, who has visited South Africa and interviewed P. W. Botha. And Bishop John L. Meares, the white leader of Evangel Temple in Washington has planned a national "Inner City Pastors' Conference" for March 1987 with the theme of "The Kingdom Awakening to Reconciliation," evidently offering a fundamentalist approach to race relations. Meares is a Pentecostalist whose beliefs have been likened to those of "shepherding" groups,² and Bob Mumford, one of the leaders of the shepherding movement, is to speak at the conference.³

The Moonies

Since his 1982 conviction and imprisonment for conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and making false statements, Rev. Sun Myung Moon has attempted to portray himself as a victim of persecution.⁴ Moon's followers have claimed that he was subjected to a racial and religious witchhunt. They argue therefore that the Black clergy has a particular, vested interest in coming to his defense.

There are two Moon organizations through which outreach to Blacks is attempted: The Coalition for Religious Freedom (CRF) and CAUSA U.S.A. CAUSA members are often found at subway stations and airports around the country soliciting signatures on petitions for their various causes. In addition to attempting to build support for Moon, the CRF is also known for its defense of racist religious institutions. While trying to persuade Blacks that they had an interest in defending Moon, the CRF was also involved in organized efforts to regain a tax exemption for Bob Jones University. Its tax exemption was revoked in 1984 because it taught and practiced racial segregation.

CAUSA sponsors seminars which feature leading right-wing ideologues such as Reed Irvine of Accuracy in Media; Arnaud de Borchgrave, editor of Moon's *Washington Times* and co-author of the anti-Soviet spy novels *The Spike* and *Monimbo*; and Eldridge Cleaver. Anti-communist diatribes and KGB conspiracy theories dominate these gatherings. Blacks, such as Cleaver, are given a platform from which to attack Black leaders and organizations.

The *Washington Times* regularly runs articles in support of the South African-backed renegade Jonas Savimbi who is attempting to overthrow the government of Angola. Rather than reporting on his murderous raids and lack of support from the Angolan people, Savimbi is praised and falsely portrayed as a heroic freedom fighter. Roy Innis gained notoriety a few years

1. See "Holy Spirit or Holy Spook?" in this issue.

2. (*Washington Post*, December 21, 1986).

3. See "Shepherding," in this issue.

4. See "Moon's Law," in this issue.

Credit: CAUSA



It is not just the Black community into which the Moonies have made inroads. Russell Means, former American Indian Movement leader, who now works the Moon lecture circuit denouncing the Sandinistas, kowtows to CAUSA conferees.

ago with his efforts to recruit American Blacks to join Savimbi's South African-financed forces as mercenaries.

Lyndon LaRouche

Perhaps the most worrisome efforts by the far Right to win Black support are the attempts being made by arch-fanatic Lyndon LaRouche. Famous for promoting conspiracy theories, uncritical support for Reagan's Star Wars military plans, and a super-clandestine life style, LaRouche has begun in the past two years to dig his claws into the Black community. Through a front organization, the Schiller Institute, LaRouche and his followers have initiated serious attempts to organize Black backing for his causes.

LaRouche runs a multi-million dollar empire of publications and organizations principally concerned with implementing and promoting his various conspiracy causes. Once a self-proclaimed leftist, he now espouses some of the most crackpot theories on the right. As cult leader of a following that numbers in the thousands internationally, the LaRouchies have threatened numerous reporters and researchers attempting to expose the true nature of their work.

The Schiller Institute, headed by Helga Zepp-LaRouche, wife and companion of Lyndon, was founded in May 1984. The assistant director is Allan Salsbury who is Black. Ostensibly an institute to promote German-American friendship, it has become the principal vehicle through which LaRouche hopes to gain Black followers. One of the Institute's first efforts was to organize a march and rally in Washington, D.C. on Martin Luther King's birthday, January 15, 1985. It was hypocritically called a march for the "Inalienable Rights of Man." According to press reports, between 5,000 and 10,000 people showed up, mostly Black. The purpose of the march was not to celebrate the birthday of King, as in most Black communities around the country; the major theme on which the Institute was able to win some Black following was a call for ending hunger in Africa. This theme was combined with a call for support of Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), better known as Star Wars.

Black clergy in particular are targeted by LaRouche. According to research done by the Center for Democratic Renewal (formerly the National Anti-Klan Network), Black ministers Rev. Lamar Keels from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, Rev. Wade Watts from McAlester, Oklahoma, and Rev. James Cokley of New York City were all reportedly present at the

demonstration. In addition, Montgomery, Alabama NAACP president Albert Sankey was quoted by *New Solidarity*, a LaRouche newspaper, as saying "I can't think of a better way to celebrate Dr. King's birthday...than to mobilize with the march on Washington to feed Africa with American technology." *New Solidarity* also reported that a busload came from the blackbelt town of Tuskegee, Alabama.

New Solidarity is filled with pictures of Blacks demonstrating in support of Star Wars, carrying posters with the bizarre theme, "I Have a Dream, Feed Africa, and Build the Beam," marching under the banner of the Schiller Institute. According to LaRouche, the Schiller Institute has Black supporters and members in Chicago, Washington, Los Angeles, Birmingham, and Ohio. Veteran civil rights activists are shown waving U.S. flags and speaking on platforms with white Schiller Institute members. Amelia Robinson of Birmingham, who is touted as having marched with Dr. King, is featured prominently speaking in support of Star Wars.

It is folly to rely solely on LaRouche accounts, however, as misrepresentation and blatant lies are a common tactic. For example, they falsely claimed that Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley proclaimed November 12th "Schiller Day."⁵ In another flight of fancy, representatives from the Schiller Institute told international audiences that "We've basically taken over the civil rights movement in the United States."

In addition to attempting to woo Blacks to the Schiller Institute by coating his rightwing wolf in civil rights clothing, LaRouche has also fielded a number of Black political candidates. In Michigan, he backed Henry Wilson, a retired auto worker, for governor. Wilson received only about six percent of the vote. In Baltimore, Hazel Judd ran for Congress in the 7th Congressional District with LaRouche backing. She received only about two percent of the vote. And there have been other Blacks who were convinced to run for office at every level of government. Many appear to be neither affiliated with the Schiller Institute nor hard core LaRouche followers. A number of them were given free trips around the U.S. and abroad and sold the line that they were working towards Black empowerment by running for office.

LaRouche is a hardline racist and no friend of the Black community. In the past year in a number of his publications, including *New Solidarity*, he has hysterically attacked Rev. Jesse Jackson, Randall Robinson of TransAfrica, and other Black leaders. These attacks have ranged from personal slurs to racist epithets to outlandish fabrications. For example, he has accused Jackson of being under the control of the Israeli security agency Mossad and the Anti-Defamation League. Robinson and others involved in anti-apartheid work were accused of not being radical enough and at the same time of being agents of communists, terrorists, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Other Blacks have also been attacked. In the April 26, 1985 edition of *New Solidarity*, a front page article was boldly headlined "Mayor Andy Young Backs Genocide Against Blacks." Rep. Walter Fauntroy (Dem.-D.C.) has been called an agent of the IMF and an advocate of policies that "will murder 300 million Africans." Carrying their anti-Black campaign further, LaRouche members have disrupted speeches by former Georgia State Senator Julian Bond and Jean Young, wife of Andy Young.

5. November 10th is the anniversary of the birth of German classical poet Friedrich Schiller.

Yet, it is LaRouche who has allied with the *apartheid* rulers. He has boasted publicly and in his paper that he regularly sells information to the South African government. According to the *New York Times* of October 7, 1979, LaRouche was paid to produce private reports on the U.S. anti-*apartheid* movement for South Africa's Bureau of State Security.

On the domestic side, the Ku Klux Klan has figured prominently in LaRouche activities. Klan members have served as LaRouche personal bodyguards and traveled with him as security. The Klan has reciprocated by having high praise for LaRouche and his activities. He has also actively defended Klansmen, organizing defense work for Pennsylvania Klan leader and American Nazi Party activist Roy Frankhouser, who later became a part of LaRouche's inner circle. Frankhouser was indicted, along with other LaRouche henchmen, on charges of conspiracy and fraud in a credit card ripoff scheme. LaRouche is a rabid anti-Semite and has worked with a number of neo-fascists in the U.S., including the late arms merchant and mercenary trainer Mitch Werbell and segrega-

tionist Col. Tom McCrary. LaRouche idolized former Nazis such as past South African state president and *apartheid* architect Nico Diederichs.

Conclusion

The political sophistication of the Black community will eventually beat back any organizing efforts by the far Right. The racist and pro-fascist rantings of the Moonies, LaRouche, and other rightwingers are already being exposed and denounced by anti-racist and progressive voices in the Black community.

It is important, however, to recognize the political and ideological damage that can be done by these groups. Through the use of various and ever-changing fronts, political disruption can occur and valuable resources and time can be wasted attempting to defeat this enemy. Given the apparent decision by some sectors of the far Right to win some degree of Black support, those who defend democratic rights and racial justice must be ever vigilant.

Black Church Support for *Apartheid*

The progressive religious community in general, and Black churches in particular, have always opposed *apartheid* in South Africa, especially through the divestment effort. In the United States, churches have divested hundreds of millions of dollars in funds from corporations that do business in South Africa.

Recently, however, several Black church figures in the U.S. and in South Africa have helped blunt the general thrust of this church work, aimed at isolating the South African regime and its corporate supporters, by giving tacit or direct support to the views of the White House and the South African *apartheid* regime. While these attempts to posit and defend a modest approach to the elimination of *apartheid* are limited to only a few, they are worth noting for their potential appeal to their unwary followers.

In the U.S., Episcopal Bishop John T. Walker has come out against divestment as a tactic to bring pressure on corporations to stop doing business with *apartheid*. Walker is one of the highest ranking Black clergy in the country and until this year supported divestment. According to Walker, two recent trips to South Africa altered his view of the role U.S. business plays in the South African political scene.

He now believes that these corporations can play a positive and constructive role under *apartheid*—to develop more Black businesses and to train more Black supervisors and managers. Walker's program, in essence, is an updated version of the almost universally disparaged Sullivan Principles. The Sullivan Principles are a set of voluntary guidelines to guarantee equity towards Black workers on the part of U.S. corporations, but have been used as a cover by American businesses to justify their continuing investment in *apartheid*.

In South Africa itself, the *apartheid* regime has found a friend in Bishop Isaac Mokoena. An enthusiastic supporter of Reagan's constructive engagement policy, Mokoena is noted for his extreme conservatism and his attacks on Nobel laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu.

He recently formed the United Christian Conciliation Party. The UCCP claims it is a non-racial political party that promotes Christian values, multi-racial democracy, and free enterprise. There have been reports that the UCCP has received money from the Bureau for Information, the chief propaganda arm of the *apartheid* government. When President P.W. Botha came to power, Mokoena was one of the first (and few) Blacks to meet with him.

Mokoena's attacks against genuinely recognized Black leaders have been childish and vicious. When asked at the press conference announcing the UCCP his position on the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, he replied that "it appears primarily up to Ms. Winnie Mandela to seek her husband's release." He appeared on South African television on the night that Tutu won the Nobel Peace Prize and criticized Tutu for his support of divestment.

While attacking legitimate leaders, Mokoena has been making trips abroad arguing for greater foreign investment in South Africa. He showed up at the Conservative Party conference in England to raise funds and promote the UCCP. He has found it impossible to explain, however, how the UCCP will run Black candidates in a system that explicitly denies Blacks the right to run or vote. On a January 1986 trip to the U.S., Bishop Mokoena visited the National Religious Broadcasters conference (see article in this issue), where he appeared at a press conference under their auspices. Mokoena, like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is a favorite with U.S. rightwingers who, embarrassed by the foibles and hypocrisy of Reagan's South Africa policy, are constantly seeking Black spokesmen to reflect their politics.

Tolerance of Bishop Mokoena's conciliatory attitude to *apartheid* is rapidly waning. The *New York Times* reported on November 25, 1986 that Mokoena was physically attacked upon his return to South Africa from a conference abroad. According to the *Times*, four men seized and kicked him, and threw him in a mining dump.

The New York Times on the Bulgarian Connection:

“Objective” News as Systematic Propaganda

Part II¹

By Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead*

In November 1986 the *New York Times* returned once again to the “Bulgarian Connection.” This alleged conspiracy organized by Bulgaria (and *a fortiori* the Soviets) to assassinate Pope John Paul II may well become a classic example of the bias and propaganda service of the western media. In this effort the *Times* distinguished itself by placing its editorial and news columns at the disposal of Claire Sterling, Michael Ledeen, and other rightwing propagandists. For five years the *Times* pushed the Bulgarian Connection as true, giving full attention to every pro-Plot claim, ignoring dissenting views and inconvenient facts, and refusing to investigate leads incompatible with the Sterling model of Bulgarian and Soviet guilt.² When the Bulgarian trial defense finally took the stand in Italy and presented *its* case, from March 4-8, 1986, the *Times* blacked out the story entirely. And when the case concluded with the acquittal of the Bulgarian defendants on March 29, 1986, the *Times* quickly regrouped to the line of defense left open by the acquittal for “lack of evidence”—the case couldn’t be proved, but suspicions justly remain that the East was guilty.

As is customary, the Court followed its verdict with a “Statement of Motivation,” a document intended to explain and justify its decision. Released in November 1986, the Statement was striking for its length, lack of new insights, and failure to address seriously many of the most significant aspects of the case. The Statement, written by the junior judge in the case, was virtually ignored by the mass media in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. In the United States, however, the document served as the occasion to breathe new life into the Bulgarian Connection. It was the subject of a Sterlingesque news article and an Op-Ed column by Sterling herself in the *Times* (see sidebar), and an editorial along the same lines in the *Wall Street Journal*.

Selective use of documents

The attention given by the *Times* to the recent Statement of Motivation illustrates one of the most important means by

¹ The first item in this series, dealing with the *Times*’s coverage of the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan elections, appeared in *CovertAction Information Bulletin*, Number 21 (Spring 1984).

² This is spelled out in detail in Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead, *The Rise and Fall of the Bulgarian Connection* (New York: Sheridan Square Publications, 1986), Chapter 7.

*Edward S. Herman teaches a course in The Political Economy of the Mass Media at the University of Pennsylvania; Frank Brodhead is a historian and journalist.

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which “objective journalism” serves a propaganda function. This is by the selective use of documents, elevating those consistent with the propaganda line to prominence, no matter how empty of substance they may be, and playing down or entirely ignoring those incompatible with the preferred view.

In the case of the assassination attempt against the Pope, once the *Times* had opted editorially for the Bulgarian Connection, its news department simply disregarded a series of major documents that would have raised doubts about the favored line. As one important instance, on July 12, 1984 the Italian Parliament issued its long awaited *Report of the Parliamentary Commission on the Masonic Lodge P-2*. The document described in great detail the penetration of this massive neo-fascist enterprise into the military establishment, secret services, and judiciary, among others. This Report was newsworthy in its own right, but it also had a bearing on the Bulgarian Connection case, as it addressed features of Italian institutions that were directly involved in making and prosecuting the case against the Bulgarians. The *New York Times* never even mentioned the publication of this *Report*.

As a second major illustration, one year later, in July 1985, a major Italian court decision was released, which described repeated corrupt behavior by officials of the Italian secret service agency SISMI, including the forgery and planting of documents.³ These officials were also charged with involvement in a coverup of the agents carrying out the 1980 Bologna railway station massacre, a terrorist connection that would attract frenetic *Times* coverage when believed to be the work of suitable villains. Furthermore, SISMI officials had visited Agca in prison and were intimately involved in the Bulgarian Connection case. In fact, on May 19, 1981—six days after the assassination attempt—SISMI issued a forged document implicating the Soviet Union in the shooting of the Pope. This forgery was never mentioned in the *Times*, and the July 1985 court decision was barely noted in a back page article.

It is evident that these blackouts are of materials that suggest a corrupt Italian process and the possibility that Agca was persuaded and coached to pin the plot on the East. A propaganda agency pushing the Bulgarian Connection as true will naturally avoid such documents.

In contrast, each official document that advanced the case, or could be so construed, was given strenuous coverage. Most notable here was Prosecutor Albano’s Report, which

³ Criminal Court of Rome, *Judgment in the Matter of Francesco Pacienza, et al.*, July 29, 1985, signed by Francesco Amato, President of the Court.

was featured on the front page of the *New York Times* under Claire Sterling's byline on June 10, 1984. Sterling was obviously a protagonist in the case,⁴ and her summary of the Albano Report was predictably misleading. The most important contribution of the Albano Report was to make public the fact that Agca had withdrawn some of his most sensational "evidence," including his claim to have visited Antonov's apartment and met his wife and daughter. This part of the Report was blacked out by Sterling and the *Times*.

As evidence and proposed scenarios accumulated suggesting that Agca had been coached, the *Times* played dumb. The Italian press was full of claims in 1983 that Agca had been threatened with release into the general prison population if he did not talk, and even Martella acknowledged in his Report that he had suggested the possibility of a commuted sentence if Agca "cooperated." The *Times* refused to explore such claims and rejected an Op-Ed offering by Diana Johnstone, European correspondent of *In These Times*, that discussed these points. In November 1984, Orsan Oymen, the West German correspondent for the Turkish paper *Milliyet*, published a pair of lengthy and well-documented articles entitled "Behind the Scenes of the 'Agca Investigation,'" which described various Vatican efforts to propagandize the Bulgarian Connection and to get Agca to implicate the Bulgarians and Soviets. These articles and lines of investigation were ignored by the *Times*.

Perhaps the most blatant case of willful ignorance concerned the Italian fixer and former member of SISMI, Francesco Pazienza. Wanted for several crimes, Pazienza had fled

⁴. See Herman and Brodhead, *op. cit.*, n. 2, pp. 134-46 for details.

Italy and in 1985 resided in exile in New York City. Eventually he was seized and held there by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Pazienza had been a partner of Michael Ledeen in the "Billygate" affair in Italy, and retained this connection after Ledeen became General Haig's righthand man in Italy in the early days of the Reagan presidency. Pazienza had also been a close associate of SISMI head (and P-2 member) Giuseppe Santovito. From 1983 onward it was alleged in the Italian press that Pazienza had been involved in getting Agca to talk, and he himself eventually made detailed accusations of coaching by elements of SISMI. Although Pazienza was readily available for interviews in a New York City jail, the *Times* ignored him. Our hypothesis is that they did this because if they had talked to him it would have been difficult to avoid discussing his connections with Ledeen (an active protagonist during the Bulgarian Connection affair) and with Sterling. The results would not have reflected well on the quality of *Times* sourceeing. Pazienza's story would also have highlighted the *Times*'s suppression of facts concerning the corruption of SISMI, and raised questions about coaching. This would have disturbed the propaganda line.

Tagliabue on the Bulgarian Connection: A Case Study in Bias

To show in another way the propagandistic quality of the *Times*'s coverage of the Bulgarian Connection, we will examine in detail the article by John Tagliabue, "Verdict on Papal Plot, but No Answer," published on March 31, 1986. This piece, which provides a summing up of the case by a veteran *Times* reporter assigned to the Rome trial, is a potential classic

Claire Sterling: The Master Builder

While the *Times* has been the major vehicle for the propagation of the Bulgarian Connection in the United States, the role of chief propagandist has been filled by Claire Sterling.

To be sure, much of her output has found other outlets, including her initial salvo claiming a Bulgarian Connection, published by the *Reader's Digest* in their September 1982 issue. But it was through the *New York Times* that Sterling made her greatest impact. In its news columns and editorials, the *Times* followed her outlines of the Plot faithfully. It published her extensive and highly misleading interpretation of the Albano Report on the front page in June 1984. And it kicked off its coverage of the 1985 trial with an article co-authored by Sterling and foreign correspondent John Tagliabue.

The significance of the *Times*-Sterling axis is twofold. First, by allowing Sterling the role of supposedly objective news analyst and news reporter—despite her clearly tendentious role in the development of the Bulgarian Connection case, and her notorious looseness with essential facts concerning "international terrorism"—the *Times*

helped to legitimize views that might otherwise be dismissed as those of a lunatic fringe. Secondly, the *Times*'s agenda-setting function for the U.S. media ensured that Sterling's views would be given extremely wide distribution, becoming the "common sense" of the news wires and informed opinion.

The most recent developments in the case of the Bulgarian Connection display the enduring quality of the *Times*-Sterling axis, and the imperviousness of the U.S. media to mere fact. On November 11 the Italian court released its "Statement of Motivation," a 1,200-page document intended to explain its earlier decision that found all Bulgarian defendants in the case not guilty on the basis of insufficient evidence. The statement received little notice in Italy, where the case has become a national embarrassment. In the United States, however, it served in a modest way in the process of rehabilitating the Connection as part of the Cold War arsenal of usable legends. This Phoenix-like re-emergence of the Connection was predicted in our *Rise and Fall of the Bulgarian Connection*, and not unnaturally the first steps in its revival bear the imprint of Sterling operating through the *Times*.

The *Times*'s (unsigned) news article of November 12 focused on the Statement's reiteration of well-worn Sterlingianism, and these were repeated in an Op-Ed by Sterling ("Behind Agca's Gun") on November 21. The core of these

¹. For a discussion, see Herman and Brodhead, *The Rise and Fall of the Bulgarian Connection* (New York: Sheridan Square Publications, 1986), pp. 125-46. See also CAIB, Number 18 (Winter 1983), pp. 12-13; Number 19 (Spring-Summer 1983), pp. 13-21; Number 21 (Spring 1984), p. 20; Number 23 (Spring 1985), pp. 3-38; and Number 25 (Winter 1986), p. 30.

of dishonest reporting. We will show how Tagliahue incorporates all of the elements of the Sterling model of the Bulgarian Connection, selects facts in accordance with the requirements of the line, and bypasses conflicting facts and interpretations.⁵ We will comment point by point, referring to the paragraph number of the Tagliahue piece presented in a separate illustration.

The framing of the issue. In paragraphs 1-4 Tagliahue frames the issue in terms of the failure of the Rome court to exonerate completely the Bulgarian defendants and the consequent possibility or likelihood that they may still be guilty. "Few people were surprised by the verdict," states Tagliahue. But the failure to find the Bulgarians guilty should have been quite surprising, given the long assurances by Sterling and associates that the Bulgarians were clearly behind the plot, and that, as one of her comrades, Paul Henze, stated, the "evidence" has "steadily accumulated to the point where little real doubt is now possible."⁶

An alternative frame would have been as follows: After a three-year investigation and lengthy trial, backed by the resources of the Italian state, and despite the powerful inter-

5. Immediately after the shooting of the Pope in 1981, Tagliahue, then a *Timey* correspondent in West Germany, wrote some enlightening articles on Agea's Turkish fascist connections. All of this material was ignored by Tagliahue after he became the *Timey*'s correspondent at the Rome trial in 1985. His first story on the trial, significantly, was co-authored with Claire Sterling, and his coverage of the trial remained faithful to her model.

6. Paul Henze, *The Plot to Kill the Pope* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1985), p. 196.

articles stressed Agea's knowledge of facts about the Bulgarian co-defendants; suspicions raised by the Bulgarians' alibis; Agea's knowledge of the now famous truck, which was loaded at the Bulgarian Embassy on the very day of the assassination attempt, and which was supposedly to be used to help the assassins make their getaway; and, most importantly, the Sterling-esque claim that Agea's outbursts on the witness stand were "signals" to his Bulgarian co-conspirators. This latter point was reiterated in a *Wall Street Journal* editorial a week later (November 18, 1986), which claimed that "Agea knew that if he didn't undermine the case against the communists, his worst sentence might well be the one another apparent enemy of the Bulgarian state, Georgi Markov, received in London at the end of a poisoned umbrella."

The Statement of Motivation was obviously intended to support the jury's earlier verdict. The document contained almost nothing new, and was largely a rehash of the prosecution case outlined in the Martella Report. Nevertheless, Sterling, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Times* characteristically refrained from noting that the Statement's few novelties tended to undermine the Bulgarian Connection. Thus the Statement concluded that there was *not* a second gunman at St. Peter's Square on the day of the assassination attempt, as the Martella Report had maintained. Nor was there evidence of any "diversionary" activity by a co-conspirator in the Square, as Martella, Sterling, and Henze had suggested. Moreover, according to the Statement, the only evidence of any conspiracy at all argues for an exclusively *Turkish* operation, consisting of the network of *Gray Wolves* that assisted Agea in his escape

ests in Italy and the West with a stake in finding the Bulgarians guilty, the prosecution still failed to persuade an Italian jury of Bulgarian guilt. These vested interests and their propaganda vehicles were given a bone to chew on, however, in the form of a decision to dismiss the charge for "lack of evidence," rather than complete exoneration. This then allowed the propaganda agencies to frame the case in the Tagliahue manner.

Protection of the Italian judicial process. Throughout the history of the case the *Times* blacked out evidence of the compromised quality of the Italian institutions involved in pursuing the Connection. Investigating Judge Martella was always treated as a model of probity, and conflicting facts were ignored.⁷ Note how in paragraph 14 Tagliahue wastes space on a gratuitous and irrelevant accolade to Martella (which is also given a sub-heading for emphasis). His statement that "Few people stood up to assail the magistrate" is absurd, as the trial witnesses were asked to give concrete evidence on the facts of the case; they were not in a position to assail the pretrial investigating magistrate and any such attempts would have been impermissible in the courtroom. Only the Bulgarian defense was well qualified and able to assail Martella, and they did so, in effective statements that were unreported in the *Times*. In paragraph 11 Tagliahue points out that although the trial was supposed merely to verify the findings of the preliminary investigation, in fact the prosecution did a great deal of new investigation,

7. For example, Martella's lack of control over Agea's visitors and reading materials badly compromised the case, as did the distressing number of leaks that came out of his supposedly secret investigation. See Herman and Brodhead, *op. cit.*, n. 2, pp. 118-20.

from prison and sheltered him during his wanderings in Western Europe. Sterling and company would have us believe that this network was "rented" by the Bulgarians to assassinate the Pope. And while the Sterlingites admit that their ease for this rests exclusively on Agea's testimony, they maintain that this testimony has been corroborated in many particulars, and the uncorroborated part is thus believable. But the Statement of Motivation maintains that "Agea's statements have never received corroboration, and have never led to any concrete results." This observation was not reported by Sterling, the *Times*, or the *Wall Street Journal*.

The case of the Bulgarian Connection has followed a natural life cycle common to similar episodes of inventive disinformation. An initial media swallowing of extremely implausible charges of Bulgarian (and Soviet) perfidy easily withstood a failure to substantiate them and the gradual accumulation of contrary evidence. While this particular example of Free World propaganda distinguished itself by the public ravings of Agea at his trial, and by an earlier period (pre-Connection) in which a very different story was developed by the media, it is not essentially different from similar disinformation ventures (the Libyan "bit squad," "Yellow Rain," the KAL-007 shootdown, the Nicaraguan MIGs of 1984, etc.) in which initial claims of Enemy guilt were printed without qualification on the front pages, and the later disintegration of the case was confined to the inside pages or omitted altogether from the "newspaper of record." Like these other ventures, the Bulgarian Connection is available for continuing service if the Free World struggle against the Enemy requires it.

vestigative work. This suggests that the trial court found Martella's investigation sadly lacking, but Tagliabue never addresses the point.

Agca's desertion of the case. An important part of the apologetic framework is the claim that Agca, who had presented an allegedly coherent version of a Connection up to the trial, suddenly did an about face and refused to testify altogether (paragraphs 6-7). Furthermore, his behavior supposedly became totally erratic, apparently intended to torpedo the case (paragraph 10). The prosecutor couldn't overcome this difficulty.

In reality, Agca's claims emerged very slowly and contradictorily, with dozens of retractions that, taken together, are best explained by coaching, outside information, and guesses by Agca as to what Martella and the press would like to hear.⁸ It took Agca 17 months from the time of his imprisonment to name a Bulgarian—seven months from the time when he

8. See *ibid.*, pp. 102 ff.

agreed to cooperate with the authorities. His descriptions of the Bulgarians changed on an almost daily basis. His core claims of links to Bulgarians were never substantiated by a single independent witness, and posited behavior by the Bulgarians that violated common sense and every principle of spycraft.

The claim that Agca became more erratic during the trial is not based on evidence. Agca's persistently erratic behavior was obscured by the secrecy of his earlier testimony, but it is clear from the Martella Report that he was already claiming to be Jesus and displaying other symptoms of irrationality. Furthermore, Tagliabue's statement that Agca refused to cooperate during the trial is false—Agca periodically withdrew from the proceedings when his testimony became too incoherent, but he always returned to the stand, and he answered a vast number of questions. One hypothesis that Tagliabue never entertains is this: If Agca's claims were based on coaching and/or imagination, in an open court he would be vulnerable and quickly pushed to the wall. No longer protected by

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Verdict on Papal Plot, but No Answer

By JOHN TAGLIABUE
Special to The New York Times

ROME, March 30 — An Italian court's decision on Saturday to acquit three Bulgarians "for lack of proof" leaves unresolved the question of whether they conspired to assassinate Pope John Paul II.

Few people were surprised by the verdict since the public prosecutor, in an unusual plea last month, admitted his lack of conclusive evidence for a "Bulgarian connection" to the 1981 attack on the Pope and asked for the Bulgarians' acquittal.

The decision by the prosecutor, Antonio Martini, was in part a declaration of despair, for the formula "for lack of proof" implies that evidence exists supporting both the guilt and the innocence of the defendants, and that the court is powerless to reach a conclusive decision.

Under Italian law, criminal cases can end with any of three verdicts: A defendant can be declared guilty, not guilty, or, if the evidence is ambiguous, acquitted for lack of proof.

Over 10 months and through 98 sessions that produced more than 14,000 pages of testimony, the court of two judges and three lay jurors sifted evidence from a broad range of sources, but its mainstream of incriminating charges against the Bulgarian defendants flowed from the capricious methods Agca used to identify his co-conspirators as well as the state's key witness.

In the 23-month investigation that led to the trial, Mr. Agca had given investigators — with many backtracks, contradictions and corrections — a broad picture of events leading up to the assassination attempt, including a Bulgarian role in enlisting him and then assisting him during his stay in Italy up to the day of the shooting.

Then on the trial's first day last May 27, Mr. Agca did an about-face. The Turkish gunman refused to discuss the details of his charges of a Bulgarian connection, merely stating repeatedly, "I confirm everything."

More unsettling, his behavior, never predictable, became totally erratic. Day after day, to the distress of the prosecution, Mr. Agca declared in court that he was Jesus. He kept flinging his apocalyptic pronouncements, such as that his account of the Pope fit into the mysteries of Palestine, or that the world was about to end.

Prosecutor Martini, faced with the collapse of his case through behavior that transformed the principal witness into one that most American courts would probably have rejected out of

hand, declared that none of Mr. Agca's testimony could be taken at its face value without outside corroboration. For the prosecution, that was the beginning of the end.

Suggested Purposeful Shift

"This trial should have ended last May 27," Mr. Agca told the court last August, suggesting that his shift in behavior may have been designed to torpedo the efforts of the court, though for what reason he did not say.

The court made valiant efforts to surmount the obstacle. Though Italian trials are essentially verifications of cases put together in pretrial investigations by magistrates, Mr. Martini traveled to a half dozen European countries to hear new witnesses. His efforts were aided by arrests of key associates of Mr. Agca, including Abdullah Cetin, an obscure right-wing terrorist and drug trafficker, and Yalcin Ozbe, another suspected terrorist who had known Mr. Agca before the shooting.

There were partial confirmations of Mr. Agca's complex tale. Mr. Ozbe said the Bulgarians had indeed wanted him to kill Lech Walesa, the founder of the Solidarity labor movement in Poland, when he visited the country.

The court pushed its efforts through last summer, but Mr. Martini and the other members of the court were never able to produce the corroborating evidence for assertions Mr. Agca had described in such detail. And without his assistance, the search was to prove futile.

Magistrate Escaped Criticism

Few people stood up to assail the magistrate who had assembled the evidence against the Bulgarians. The magistrate, Mario Martella, had gained a reputation for honesty and doggedness, but he had also promoted Mr. Agca to the key player in the drama.

But the prosecution's failure before the court was perhaps the most punishing commentary on the case he had prepared. For with the discrediting of Mr. Agca's testimony, the edifice of the prosecution's arguments proved too unstable to support.

The court's decision Saturday thus puts an end to the legal pursuit of the Bulgarians, since the prosecution has said it would not appeal. The Bulgarians' defense attorneys have said they would contest the decision, seeking full acquittal.

But the verdict is likely to turn the Bulgarian connection into one of many judicial battles that remain heatedly contested. The Italian court's ambiguous

verdict gives grounds for some critics to continue to maintain that the Bulgarians, probably at the instigation of the Soviet Union, planned the shooting to eliminate the Polish-born Pope, presumably in an effort to crack religious-inspired resistance to Communist rule in Poland.

But the acquittal also supports others who contend that Sergei I. Antosh and two other former Bulgarian officials acquitted here were the victims, at best of a malfunctioning of Italian justice, at worst of a Western intelligence plot to pin the shooting of the Pope on Soviet bloc governments.

Setting of East-West Tension

Whether or not the charges against the Bulgarians were true, their emergence at the nadir of Soviet-American relations in the early 1980's gained them additional credence among many in the West. There were frequent charges of Bulgarian complicity in Soviet bloc efforts to subvert governments in the eastern Mediterranean, like Turkey, by smuggling arms often paid for by the drug trade.

Indeed, Mr. Agca and many of his right-wing associates were the products of gravity political leanings in their native Turkey that pitted violent leftist terrorists against their counterparts on the right. Both sides were reportedly supported by the Bulgarians, who sought to promote instability, regardless of its ideological source, in a nation allied with the United States.

Similarly, though with less virulence, tensions between the left and right in Italy ran high at the time, when Italy's large Communist Party was near the top of its postwar influence.

Italian magistrates, acting at the instigation of informers, investigated charges that Bulgarian agents had sought to kill Lech Walesa, the founder of the Solidarity labor movement in Poland, when he visited the country.

Underlying all this was the fact that the wounding of the Pope came at a time of swelling resistance to Communism in Poland, where the election of a Polish Pope was viewed, not least by the Soviet Union, as a signal of spiritual support for the growing discontent.

How He Knew What He Knew

The key factual question is how Mr. Agca knew what he knew and when he knew it. On the answer to this question hangs the credibility of his charges.

Over the course of his nearly two years of cross-questioning, the Turkish gunman revealed many details about the Bulgarians — descriptions of their apartments, details of their personal habits, phone numbers and nicknames. The simplest explanation is that Mr.

Agca got such information in his jail cell from anxious attention to television and close study of newspapers, magazines and publications of all sorts — a study that prompted Judge Severino Santapicchio to wonder aloud in desperation who was paying for all the subscriptions.

But even attorneys for the Bulgarians acknowledge that many of the details did not appear in Italian publications, if at all, until after Mr. Agca mentioned them to his interrogators.

Another view is that Mr. Agca and his associates drew their information about the Bulgarians from other contacts, in the business of smuggling guns or drugs from the eastern Mediterranean to the West.

Spent 2 Months in Bulgaria

Mr. Agca is known to have spent nearly two months in Bulgaria in the summer of 1986, and information gleaned from such stays could have formed the basis of his later assertions.

The more sinister view, espoused by critics of the case on the political left, including Soviet bloc governments, is that Mr. Agca was fed the information by Western intelligence services intent on building a case against the Soviet bloc.

Only one thing seems certain after all the debate — that even if someday Mr. Agca speaks the truth, he has so often used his knowledge of the facts as a bargaining chip with Italians, Bulgarians, Turks and anyone he perceives as able to help him that few are likely to believe him.

"The Bulgarians continue to heap denunciations on him," Mr. Agca's court-appointed defense attorney, Pietro d'Ovidio, said at the trial's conclusion. "In fact; they should be thankful to him."

Martella, Agea failed to produce his "evidence"—and frequently withdrew in confusion—because he had nothing real to offer the Court.

Tagliabue also never asks this further question: Even if Agea had clammed up (which was not true), given the extensive Martella investigation and report, why would the Court not be able to follow the already established leads to a successful outcome? Why was not a single witness produced to confirm Agea's allegations of numerous meetings and trips with Bulgarians in Rome? Why was the car allegedly rented by the Bulgarians never found? Where is the money supposedly given to Agea? Tagliabue plays dumb.

"Partial confirmation" of Agea's tale. In paragraph 12 Tagliabue describes some alleged partial confirmations of Agea's claims. The first is that "Mr. Ozbey said the Bulgarians had indeed wanted to use Mr. Agea to shoot the Pope, but did not trust him." But this is not a partial confirmation if the net result was that the Bulgarians failed to hire Agea. Furthermore, another reporter present when Ozbey testified in Rome claims that Ozbey did *not* tell the Court that the Bulgarians "wanted to use" Agea. According to Wolfgang Achtner of ABC-TV News in Rome, the only thing Ozbey said was that the Bulgarians "listened with interest, but behaved with indifference" (the translation by the Turkish interpreter in court) or "listened with interest but didn't take it seriously" (Achtner's own translation). In short, it would appear that Tagliabue has doctored the evidence.

The other "partial confirmation" is that "Catli hinted at obscure secret service contacts with West German intelligence, and of payments for unspecified purposes to Turks involved in the investigations." This vague statement does not even mention the plot against the Pope and is partial confirmation of nothing. The most important Catli evidence was his description of the attempt by the West German police to bribe Ozbey and Agea's supposed co-conspirator Oral Celik to come to West Germany and confirm Agea's claims. As this supports the coaching hypothesis, Tagliabue blacks it out. The only other testimony by Catli mentioning the secret services involved Gray Wolves leader Ali Batman, who told Catli he had heard from the German secret police that at a meeting in Romania the Warsaw Pact powers had decided to kill the Pope. This was apparently a leak of the forged SISMI document of May 19, 1981, which had made this claim. Thus the hearsay recounting of the substance of a forgery is Tagliabue's "partial confirmation" of Agea's claims of a Plot!

We should also note that while he cites these "partial confirmations," nowhere does Tagliabue list the contentions of Agea that remained unconfirmed.

The Soviet-Bulgarian motive. Two of Tagliabue's 32 paragraphs (17 and 23) were devoted to expounding the Soviet motive in allegedly sponsoring Agea's assassination attempt: "to crack religiously inspired resistance to Communist rule in Poland." Tagliabue here follows a longstanding *Times* tradition of absolutely refusing to allow a counterargument to be voiced on this issue. Even if they covered their tracks well, a Soviet-inspired murder of the Pope would have been blamed on the Soviets, solidified Polish hostility, and had enormously damaging effects on Soviet relations with Western Europe. Thus it would have been risky without any offsetting benefits.⁹

9. For a further discussion of the alleged Soviet motive, see *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.



Credit: New York Times

John Tagliabue, *New York Times* disinformationist.

Who gained and who lost from the Plot? Were there any possible western motives that might bear on the case? Tagliabue follows the Sterling line in failing to raise these questions. But once Agea was imprisoned in Italy, cold warriors of the West had much to gain and little to lose by manipulating Agea to pin the assassination attempt on the East. Tagliabue mentions (in paragraph 19) that the charges of a Bulgarian Connection surfaced "at the nadir" of U.S.-Soviet relations. While he notes how this added to the credibility of the Plot in the West, he never hints at the possibility that its serviceability to the new Cold War might *explain* Agea's belated confession.

Agea's stay in Bulgaria. This has always been critical in the *Sterling-Times* scenarios. What is always unmentioned is that bringing Agea for a long stay in Sofia would have been a violation of the rule of plausible deniability. Even more so would be using Bulgarians to help Agea in Rome. Tagliabue does not mention the question of plausible deniability. He also fails to note that if Agea had stayed in Sofia for a while, this would allow a *prima facie* case to be made by a western propagandist that the East was behind the shooting, and could provide the basic materials for working Agea over for the desired confession.

Bulgarian involvement in Turkey. Tagliabue asserts (paragraph 20) that the Bulgarians were "purportedly" supporting both the extreme Left and Right in Turkey "to promote instability" in a conflict "that pitted violent leftist terrorists against their counterparts on the right." This is a Sterling myth, with Tagliabue hiding behind "purportedly" to allow him to pass off myth as purported evidence. The equating of Left and Right in the Turkish violence of the 1970s is false: the great majority of violent attacks were launched by the Gray Wolves, under the

protection of the police and military. Tagliabue also fails to discuss the fact that the extreme Right actually participated in the government in 1977 and had extensive links to the army and

intelligence services. The claim of Bulgarian support for both the Right and Left is not sensible and has never been supported by evidence. Tagliabue never mentions that the United

Sterling on Breytenbach and South Africa

In her *The Terror Network* and in a review of the book *End Papers* in the *Wall Street Journal* of October 10, 1986 ("An Anti-Apartheid Afrikaner on the Record"), Claire Sterling uses and abuses the writings of the South African poet and fighter against *apartheid*, Breyton Breytenbach, in ways that are revealing of her qualities as a journalist and her fundamental apologetics for the South African *apartheid* regime.

Let us start with a few examples of her pervasive dishonesty. First, in both *The Terror Network* and the review, Sterling puts enormous weight on the fact that, after being arrested by the South African police in 1975, Breytenbach pleaded guilty, and told the South African court "that he was wrong" (Sterling), "that my doings were stupid and that with which I became involved with good intentions could lead to harm for other people" (Breytenbach). If Breytenbach's statements had been made in a Soviet court after a lengthy incarceration, Sterling would have laughed; but South Africa is part of the Free World, and she nowhere discusses the threats and coercion applied to Breytenbach, even though the process which produced his courtroom statement occupies many pages of his prison memoirs. *The True Confessions of an Albino Terrorist*. He instructs us in the *Confessions* to "hear the insidious voice of the controller" in his prison and court statements. Instead, Sterling takes his statements and confessions from prison and court at face value, even though he later repudiated them.

Second, Sterling misrepresents Breytenbach's attitudes toward Henri Curiel. It is a major purpose of her *Wall Street Journal* review to suggest once again that Curiel, a long-time supporter of Third World liberation movements, was in fact a KGB agent.¹ Thus Sterling quotes from Breytenbach's *True Confessions*: "Seldom have I met someone so single-minded and so warped by his single-mindedness." She does not quote his warm accolade to Curiel on the very next page: "An inspiring man, a limpid ideologue, and a man who remained committed to the better instincts of mankind. Never did he lose sight of the ongoing eternal struggle for justice and a slightly larger measure of freedom" (p. 89).

Third, Sterling misrepresents Breytenbach's position on the need for revolution in South Africa. Sterling says, "The primal question he asks in this book about South Africa today: 'Can reform still obviate revolution?' goes unanswered." This is a fabrication. Breytenbach closes his essay on the question "Can Reform Still Obviate Revolution," as follows:

The strategy of reform, although modifying some elements of the data, has ultimately no grip on the future.

¹ See other sidebar for a brief account of her loss of Paris slander suits for such characterizations of Curiel. See also CAIB, Number 19 (Spring-Summer 1983), pp. 15-16.

And although there is not yet a majority strategy for revolution, there is a depth to the despair and the bitterness and the resolution of the people (and an inner liberation too: a cultural awareness, a political tempering) that expresses itself in a willingness to die for the cause, in the burning of corpses, in the attempts to create autonomous power centers and germinal people's armies. The mourning, the strikes, the marching, the acrid smoke, the breakdown of White-imposed civic structures, the refusal to accept White "peace"—these flash one clear signal: the point of no return has been reached. The civil war has already started. [Page 200.]

Sterling's fundamental apologetic for the *apartheid* regime is, of course, indirect. Like Ronald Reagan, Sterling is "against *apartheid*" and allegedly concerned with the condition of the Black majority. But she does not dwell very much on the actual conditions of the Blacks and the forms of repression they suffer, and the eloquence that Breytenbach brings to this subject—e.g., "we know from the inquest into the Uitenhage massacre that the police have orders to shoot to kill. And they do. Women and kids. From the back"—never finds its way into Sterling's accounts. Instead, the burden of her argument is that anybody who tries to do anything serious for South African Blacks—like Curiel, Breytenbach, and the African National Congress—are "being used" by sinister forces. (For Sterling, the story of Breytenbach is "not just of his own human weakness, but of how cynically he has been used by harder heads than his.") But if Sterling and her primary source, French journalist George Suffert, collaborate with South African intelligence in attacking the ANC and all of its supporters, are they not "being used" by the *apartheid* regime? The point never arises for Sterling.

In her review of *End Papers* Sterling says that Breytenbach was wrong in supporting armed struggle, because "it opened appalling prospects of biblical massacre for black South Africans." Sterling, unfortunately, has not chosen to discuss in any detail the actual degree of oppression and desperation of the Black majority, nor to denounce it, nor to propose any constructive solutions. She does not urge a rigorous arms embargo on South Africa, nor the arming of the frontline states that have already suffered large massacres and starvation from South African destabilization. Sneering at "parlor pinks" like Breytenbach and others who urge revolution, and once again totally oblivious of her own role of "parlor (and journalist) counterrevolutionary," Sterling advises the Black South Africans to wait for the "quiet diplomacy" of the freedom-loving West to alleviate their condition. In short, Sterling is a *de facto* ally of the *apartheid* regime and supporter of its violence at home and abroad.

States had more than "purported" links with the Turkish army, secret services, and the fascist Nationalist Action Party and that the terrorist events of the late 1970s eventually served U.S. interests well.

Key question: how Agca knew so much. This is the key question for Tagliabue (paragraph 24), but there are others that he might have raised if he had worked outside the Sterling format. Why did it take Agca so long to name Bulgarians? Was he subject to any coercion or offered any positive inducements

to make him talk? Why did his "evidence" accumulate so slowly and require continuous amendment? Why did he have to make major retractions? Is a judicial process not hopelessly compromised when a prisoner with a vested interest in lying says what his interrogators want him to say? Where he can lie incessantly and amend claims without penalty? Where he is in regular touch with the outside world to get new facts as the basis for altering obsolete claims?

"Even the attorneys for the Bulgarians...." In assessing

How the *New York Times* Protects Its Disinformation Sources

Just as it ignores documents incompatible with its editorial lines, so the *Times* also protects its disinformation sources by blacking out important information that would put their work in a negative light. For example, Claire Sterling's numerous attacks on the murdered French activist-radical Henri Curiel resulted in suits for slander brought against Sterling and her publisher in Paris. The *New York Times* has never even mentioned these slander suits, which would put Sterling in a bad light not only because she lost them in whole or in part, but also because of the insight they provide concerning her sources and methods. Sterling had gotten much of her information from journalist George Sufert, who was a conduit for French and South African intelligence, and who obligingly placed the African National Congress at the top of his list of "terrorist" organizations. In her *The Terror Network* Sterling strongly intimated that Curiel was a KGB agent, but the French court, on the basis of documents provided by French intelligence, found no support for this claim. Thus cornered, Sterling retreated to the defense that her insinuation of Curiel's KGB connection was merely a "hypothesis" rather than an assertion of fact. The case, in short, showed that she was a conduit of disinformation, quite prepared to slander a murdered radical on the basis of claims by extreme rightwing disinformation sources.

Michael Ledeen, a neo-conservative activist and disinformationist with ready access to the *Times*, has also received its close protection. His book *Grave New World* was reviewed in the *Times* by William Griffith, a *Reader's Digest* "roving editor" and MIT political scientist, who found Ledeen's version of the Bulgarian Connection entirely convincing.¹ Ledeen was deeply involved with Francesco Pazienza in the "Billygate" affair and had numerous contacts with Italian intelligence and the Italian extreme Right. The Italian fascist and head of P-2, Licio Gelli, hiding in Uruguay, instructed one of his accomplices to convey a manuscript to Ledeen. Pazienza claimed that Ledeen was a member of the Italian intelligence agency SISMI, with code number Z-3. Ledeen received over \$100,000 from SISMI for various services, including the supplying of stale U.S. intelligence reports that SISMI then passed off as its own. Ledeen funneled this money into a Bermuda bank account.

His manipulative activities in Italy were on such a scale that in the summer of 1984 a newly appointed head of SISMI told the Italian Parliament that Ledeen was a "meddler" and *persona non grata* in Italy. None of these points was ever disclosed in the *Times*.

Nor did the *Times* properly dispose of another compromised source on the Bulgarian Connection, the Bulgarian defector Iordan Mantarov. Mantarov's testimony about the Bulgarian role in the attempt on the Pope was the centerpiece of a long, front-page article by the *Times*'s own correspondent, Nicholas Gage. The article, published in March 1983, described Mantarov as a former commercial attaché at the Bulgarian Embassy in Paris. The Bulgarian counter-claim, that Mantarov had only been an agricultural mechanic, was later accepted by the *Times*'s foreign editor Craig Whitney, but the acknowledgement was given only two inches of space on an inside page, and the case that Gage had built on the basis of Mantarov's supposed inside knowledge was not only allowed to stand uncontested by the *Times*, but this "newspaper of record" continued to regard Gage's contribution as a confirmation of Sterling's basic claim of a Bulgarian Connection.

As a final example, the *Times* has extended sustained journalistic immunity to the Soviet defector Arkady Shevchenko, whose memoir *Breaking With Moscow* made the best-seller list in 1985. Shevchenko, a former Soviet diplomat at the U.N., claimed intimate familiarity with the inner circles of the Kremlin, and has passed himself off as an expert on the decision-making process in the Soviet Union. These claims were quickly debunked in a pair of fine investigative articles in the *Washington Post* and the *New Republic*, which showed that Shevchenko simply could not have done a number of things he claimed, and pointed out that an earlier draft of his memoirs, which omitted any claims to Kremlin-insider or super-mole status, had been rejected by publishers as lacking in new revelations and thus salability. Neither of these exposés—whose claims were never refuted by Shevchenko or his publishers—interfered in the least with the *Times*'s (and other media outlets') interest in using Shevchenko as an expert-commentator on Soviet affairs. Thus the *Times* published Shevchenko's Op-Ed on the redefinition of Soviet KGB official Vitaly Yurchenko (November 12, 1985), and the *New York Times Book Review* printed two favorable reviews of *Breaking With Moscow* (December 8, 1985 and January 26, 1986), neither of which mentioned any of the doubts that had been raised about its authenticity.

1. For an evaluation of *Grave New World* and Ledeen on the Bulgarian Connection, see Herman and Brodhead, *The Rise and Fall of the Bulgarian Connection* (New York: Sheridan Square Publications, 1986), pp. 162-73. See also "Disinformationgate," in this issue.

how Agca knew so much, Tagliabue allocates only one paragraph to the possibility that Agca was coached. He goes to great pains to stress that Agca knew an awful lot—telephone numbers, personal habits, nicknames. He even gives space equal to that allotted to coaching to Agca's stay in Bulgaria, purportedly on the ground that Agca might have learned all the details in Bulgaria. But this is fraudulent: There is no way that a non-Bulgarian-speaking Turk could have learned in Bulgaria the details of the Rome apartments and nicknames of Bulgarian officials in Rome. Tagliabue is using this as a gimmick to drag in the fact that Agca stayed in Bulgaria.

Tagliabue gives as the "simplest explanation" of Agca's knowledge that he had access to books, newspapers, magazines, and other materials from the outside. Interestingly, he fails to mention the numerous prison contacts between Agca and secret service, Mafia, and Vatican agents and emissaries. Agca even wrote a letter to the Vatican complaining of pressure from its representative in the prison (also linked to the Mafia), a point long blacked out by the *Times*. These visits would point to the ease with which Agca could have been fed information while in prison. Tagliabue will not admit facts getting into this dangerous territory.

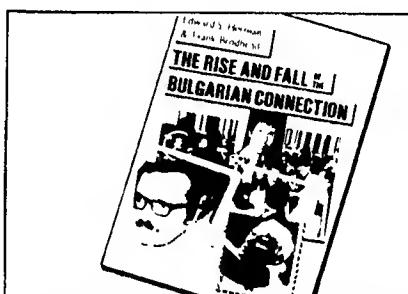
A major question is how Agca knew details about Antonov's apartment when he later admitted to Martella that he had never been there. The Bulgarians and Antonov's defense went to great pains to prove that the information Agca provided about Antonov's apartment had never been divulged in the media before Agca enumerated the details. This implied coaching, as did a mistake in identification where Agca described a characteristic of Antonov's apartment that fitted other apartments in the building, but not Antonov's. Tagliabue says that "Even the attorneys for the Bulgarians acknowledge" that Agca named things not available through reading the papers, as if they were conceding a point, not making a devastating case for coaching. Newspaper work could not be more dishonest than this.

The more sinister view. In the one paragraph in his entire article devoted to the possibility of coaching (paragraph 30), Tagliabue merely asserts it as a claim, without providing a single supportive point of evidence, although there are many.¹⁰ He uses a double propagandist's putdown—ironically designating it as "sinister" (extreme, far out, wild), and associating the hypothesis with Leftists and the Soviet Bloc. Even Tagliabue, in his earlier news reports, had mentioned Giovanni Pandico's statement in Italy outlining a scenario of coaching at which he claimed to be present, but Tagliabue does not even cite this or any other documents or facts that lend support to the coaching hypothesis. He sticks to the ingredients that fit the Sterling format—good Martella, Agca the betrayer of the case, the Soviet motive, Agca's visit to Bulgaria, and his knowledge of details. All other materials are designated "sinister" or blacked out to enhance the credibility of the party line.

Agca helped the Bulgarians. Tagliabue closes (paragraph 32) with a quote from somebody who expounds one of his preferred themes—that Agca deliberately blew the case. This is derived from Sterling's theory that Agca was always signaling somebody in his vacillations. Note how Tagliabue states this as a truth, although it is a wholly unproven Sterling gimmick.¹¹ What was Agca bargaining for in the trial? Did he

expect the Bulgarians to spring him? To admit their own involvement in the case by arranging a deal for his release? And if he were sabotaging the case in order to win favor with the Bulgarians, as the Bulgarians obviously refused to respond, why did he not finally decide to do them injury? Tagliabue never addresses these points.

In sum, this is a model case of propaganda under the guise of "news." In this instance there are literal lies (in paragraphs 11 and—hidden behind "purportedly"—in 20), but these are perhaps less important than the other systematic distortions. Tagliabue and the *Times* frame the issue in terms of probable Bulgarian guilt and the nonsubstantive factors that caused the case to be lost. They refuse to discuss the failure to obtain confirmation of any factual claims of meetings or deals with Bulgarians. They fail to mention and discuss problems of plausible deniability. They reiterate the elements of the preferred (Sterling) model without noting the illogic or well-known counterfactuals. They ignore evidence that would support the coaching model. They use invidious language only for the disfavored line of argument and spokespersons, manipulating words and bending evidence to the desired end. Tagliabue's article should be perfect for classroom use in courses on propaganda, media bias, and related subjects. ●



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10. *Ibid.*, Chapter 5.

11. See *ibid.*, pp. 139-41.

Frank Carlucci:

Diplomat, Businessman, Spy

By Louis Wolf and William Vornberger

The Iran-contra firestorm demonstrates the duplicity of the Reagan administration. The December 2 White House appointment of Frank Charles Carlucci III as the President's new National Security Adviser was trumpeted by much of the media as likely to inflate Reagan's sagging popularity. However, Carlucci's professional history requires careful scrutiny, conspicuously absent in most media reviews.

Carlucci is a survivor. Since 1956, he has held thirteen jobs in six federal agencies during four administrations. After graduating from Princeton in 1952, he spent two years in the Navy, a year at Harvard's graduate business school, and a year in low-level commercial jobs. Then, in July 1956, he joined the Foreign Service.

Diplomat or Spook?

In October 1957 he was posted to Johannesburg, South Africa, as an economic officer. In March 1960, after six months studying French, he was assigned to Leopoldville, Congo (now Kinshasa, Zaire). Despite his economic training he was assigned as a political officer. One scholar of Zairian affairs who worked with Carlucci at the time spoke with *CAIB* on condition of anonymity. "Everyone knew [Carlucci] was working on the intelligence side" of the Congo desk, and that while working in the country "there was no doubt that he was totally supportive of U.S. policy vis-a-vis the leadership, which was extremely hostile."

Less than two months after Carlucci arrived in Leopoldville, the CIA began plotting to assassinate President Patrice Lumumba.¹ After several intricate, though unsuccessful, CIA attempts to poison Lumumba, he was captured on January 17 by secessionist Katangan forces under CIA tutelage, brutally tortured, and murdered. While a direct CIA role in the execution was never proved, one CIA officer has confessed to driving around the city with Lumumba's still warm corpse in his car trunk.² Although Carlucci probably had no physical hand in the execution, he and his superiors surely knew of the extensive CIA plotting.

His reward for the successes of Leopoldville was a mid-level job on State's Congo desk for two years. There he helped support Moise Tshombe who came to power after Lumumba's

death. When the Kasavubu government (which threw out Tshombe in 1965) considered dismissing mercenaries from its armed forces, recognizing the People's Republic of China, and strengthening ties with left-nationalist African states, the CIA planned its overthrow. The result was a coup placing Joseph Mobutu (now Mobutu Sese Seko) in power where he has remained a staunch and corrupt U.S. ally for 21 years. For his contribution to furthering U.S. foreign policy in the Congo, Carlucci was awarded the State Department's Superior Service Award.

In 1964, he became U.S. principal officer in Zanzibar, in the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar (now Tanzania). Eighteen months later he and a U.S. Embassy counselor were accused of plotting the overthrow of President Julius Nyerere and given 24 hours to leave. An intercepted phone conversation between Carlucci and the other official, along with documents implicating the U.S. in a plan to use white mercenaries to attack the island, led to their ouster. The State Department denied the charges, but thirteen years later, during Carlucci's Senate confirmation hearing for CIA Deputy Director, the meeting went into secret executive session for a discussion of the Zanzibar assignment.³

Carlucci was sent to Brazil just after the elected government of João Goulart was overthrown with the help of U.S. military attaché Vernon Walters and the CIA, bringing to power the ruthless Castelo Branco dictatorship. Carlucci stayed in Rio de Janeiro as executive officer and then as counselor until 1969, and openly acknowledged working in "close cooperation" with the CIA station there.⁴

Between 1969 and 1974, Carlucci served in various positions and agencies under Caspar Weinberger in the Nixon administration. In September 1974, he became a Career Minister in the Foreign Service, and in December, Nixon appointed him Ambassador to Portugal. A leftwing government had recently come to power there after 48 years of fascist rule, and Carlucci's job was to undermine the strength of the Portuguese Communist Party. When he was implicated in the CIA's aborted coup led by rightwing military officers, the Portuguese military chief Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho remarked on television that he could not guarantee Carlucci's personal safety and that "it would without a doubt be preferable

1. *Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders*, report of the Senate Select Committee To Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, November 20, 1975, pp. 13-67.

2. John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story* (New York: Norton, 1978), p. 105.

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3. Confirmation hearing of Frank Carlucci III to be Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, January 27, 1978, p. 22.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

for Mr. Carlucci to leave Portugal...[because] at the point where we are he might experience certain regrettable incidents."⁵

Number Two at the CIA

Carlucci's three years (1978-1981) as Deputy Director of Central Intelligence gave him a first-hand view of the way the foreign policy he implemented in the field was formulated at headquarters. He demanded, and finally got from CIA Director Admiral Stansfield Turner, a written agreement that he would have access to the same information as Turner.

The *Washington Post* recently reported that in February 1979, President Carter, National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Admiral Turner sanctioned a secret CIA paramilitary sabotage operation against South Yemen, directed by Carlucci, even though Turner had called it "harebrained."⁶ The operation was an utter failure and the CIA's role was readily uncovered by the Yemenis.

Carlucci lobbied Congress intensively for the CIA, and bragged about it. At the 1980 convention of the Association of Former Intelligence Officers, he said, "We've managed to pursue a very aggressive strategy on the Hill. That strategy has paid dividends." One of Carlucci's proudest public accomplishments at the CIA was his successful campaign to exempt most CIA records from disclosure through the Freedom of Information Act. Additionally he pressed for a statutory reduction of limits on CIA operations, even defending domestic Agency activities in what have euphemistically been called "hot pursuit" cases.⁷ He also pressured Congress to pass the CIA-authored Intelligence Identities Protection Act, signed into law by Reagan in 1982, which purports to make it a crime to reveal the name of anyone "of operational assistance" to U.S. intelligence.⁸

To help preside over the largest U.S. military build-up in history, Caspar Weinberger, now Secretary of Defense, recruited his old friend Carlucci to be his deputy, a post he held from 1981 to 1982. Although Carlucci sought a moral high ground by publicly calling for reforms in corrupt weapons procurement procedures, an appearance of reform rather than real change in Pentagon-defense industry dealings was the result. Journalists revealed that behind the scenes Carlucci had pursued "higher industrial profits, lower risk and closer working ties between contractors and the Pentagon."⁹

In his own private financial dealings Carlucci invests heavily in major military-strategic firms. His stock holdings and memberships on boards of directors include Dow Chemicals, the Sperry Corporation, the Rand Corporation, the Hudson Institute, the Center for Naval Analyses (all of which

5. Jack Bourderie, "A Tough Little Monkey," in Ellen Ray, et al., editors, *Dirty Work II: The CIA in Africa* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Lyle Stuart, 1978), p. 210. This article first appeared in the French magazine *Afrique-Asie*, April 7, 1975. Carlucci once described the counterrevolution in Portugal as saving it from "failing into a Communist abyss." In the same piece he praised Portugal's "liberal profit remittance regulations." And, tellingly, he described Portugal as "a staunch NATO ally. Its facilities in the Azores are critical to enabling the U.S. and its NATO allies to extend their strategic reach." Frank Carlucci, "Portugal: A Good Trading Partner for the U.S.," *Business America* (the official publication of the Information Trade Administration of the Department of Commerce), June 7, 1985, P. 29.

6. *Washington Post*, December 4, 1986, p. A1.

7. Ronald Brownstein and Nina Easton, *Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials*, (Washington, D.C.: The Presidential Accountability Group, 1982), p. 444.

8. See CAIB, Number 10 (August-September 1980), p. 3.

9. *Washington Post*, March 31, 1985, p. A1.

Is the NSC the CIA's Washington Station?

In all the media coverage about covert operations run out of the National Security Council, what went largely unmentioned was the significant presence of CIA personnel on Admiral Poindexter's NSC staff. Vincent M. Cannistraro, a 12-year CIA veteran, and Robert Earle, a Marine Corps officer on the CIA payroll since 1985, were both assistants to Oliver North at the NSC.¹ Cannistraro's primary responsibility was to facilitate material support for the Angolan *contras*, UNITA.

Several other CIA officers worked out of NSC offices during this period. Three known operatives were James Stark, Craig Coy, and Clark A. Murdock, director of the NSC Africa affairs division. Although these men are in the process of returning to Langley, in December Carlucci named Fritz W. Ermath, a controversial CIA Sovietologist, as the new NSC Soviet affairs director,² and he also brought back David Barry Kelly,³ a 20-year CIA man who worked in the Agency operations directorate under Turner and himself, as his NSC intelligence/antiterrorism unit head.

It was claimed at the outset of the scandal that "senior White House officials in early 1985 bypassed the Central Intelligence Agency to avoid mandatory disclosure [to Congress] of such covert operations, according to informed sources."⁴ But existing law stipulates that covert operations "by all departments, agencies, and other entities involved in U.S. intelligence activities"⁵ must be reported to Congress.

On January 12, 1987, Carlucci issued a memorandum stating that "the staff of the NSC shall not itself undertake special activities."⁶ [Emphasis added.] However, the memorandum leaves no doubt that the NSC, under Carlucci, will continue to have a central role in overseeing, if not "undertaking," what they call "special activities"—what we call covert actions. The *New York Times* reported, inaccurately, that Carlucci promised the NSC "would no longer involve itself in covert operations."⁷ [Emphasis added.] But the language of Carlucci's memorandum ensures the NSC *will* be involved. The NSC will provide "review of, guidance for, and direction of the conduct of special activities."⁸ This is how Carlucci keeps his options open. ●

1. *Buffalo News*, November 13, 1986, p. 1.

2. *Washington Post*, December 17, p. A16; December 18, p. A9; December 21, 1986, p. A22.

3. James Bamford, "Carlucci and the N.S.C.," *New York Times Magazine*, January 18, 1987, p. 92.

4. Walter Pincus, "CIA Bypassed in Iran Arms Supply," *Washington Post*, November 8, 1986, p. A1.

5. National Security Act, §501(a); 50 U.S.C. §413.

6. *Washington Post*, January 17, 1987, p. A18.

7. *New York Times*, January 18, 1987, p. 1.

8. *Washington Post*, January 17, 1987, p. A18.

have abundant Pentagon and CIA contracts), the South African diamond conglomerate DeBeers, the American Broadcasting Company, and the American Stock Exchange.¹⁰

10. *Who's Who in America, 1983-1984*, p. 83; Brownstein and Easton, *op. cit.*, n. 7, p. 444.



Credit: Rick Bloom, National Journal

Frank Carlucci strikes an ominous pose.

Carlucci left the government in late 1982 and joined Sears World Trade Inc. (SWT) the next year. In 1984 he became president and chief operating officer of SWT, a subsidiary of the world's largest retail company, Sears-Roebuck. Until it was dissolved in 1986, SWT had 1,100 employees in offices around the world. *Fortune* magazine reported that some international traders were speculating that SWT served as a cover for American intelligence personnel abroad.¹¹

At SWT, Carlucci created its consulting subsidiary, the International Planning and Analysis Center, Inc. (IPAC), and recruited many of the former military officers on its Washington staff. According to its brochure, "IPAC's goal is to help its clients exploit the opportunities created by worldwide change."¹² With subsidies from the Agency for International Development, IPAC's stated functions are selling advice and technical financial expertise to Third World governments and companies.¹³ However, retired Air Force General James R. Allen is responsible for IPAC's less public defense procurement consulting activities. He and his staff exploit their contacts at the Pentagon and in defense industries in order to market IPAC's services.¹⁴

Conclusion

In October 1986, Sears-Roebuck dissolved SWT. The subsidiary had lost \$60 million, \$12 million in 1986 alone. It seems only fitting that the president of a bankrupt multinational would then go on to become National Security Adviser of a bankrupt administration. It is also extremely ironic that

11. *Fortune*, February 7, 1983, p. 91. While at SWT, Carlucci admitted having at his "beck and call" the databases of the Commerce Department, the Pentagon, and the State Department, two years after he had left government. *Industry Week*, March 19, 1984, p. 83.

12. Current International Planning and Analysis Center, Inc. brochure, p. 1.

13. The Hudson Institute, a conservative thinktank that performs a substantial amount of classified research for the Pentagon, collaborated closely with IPAC to establish what it calls a "planning framework which identifies the major trends and uncertainties that will affect U.S. and allied defense industries...to assist firms and government agencies make near term planning decisions which take advantage of future opportunities." *Ibid.*, p. 3.

14. Two other entities appearing to be part of the Sears empire have significant business with the Pentagon. In 1985, Sears Petroleum Transport of Rome, New York did \$10.7 million worth of work for the Pentagon, while Sears JA Inc. of Terre Haute, Indiana had \$1.1 million Pentagon business.

Carlucci, who worked closely with the CIA while a diplomat and then rose to become Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, should remark that under his new tenure there would be no covert actions carried out by the NSC.¹⁵

The company that Carlucci keeps is dubious at best. When he was at the Pentagon, Carlucci worked with General Richard Secord, now a central figure in the Iran-contra scandal. At that time, Secord was under grand jury investigation for garnishing illegal profits from arms sales to Egypt; despite the protests of the Pentagon general counsel, Carlucci gave Secord back his job.¹⁶

Today, Carlucci is staffing the NSC with former associates from his Pentagon and Sears World Trade past. As his deputy, he named Lt. General Colin L. Powell, a highly decorated former U.S. Army Ranger who served in Vietnam, and was commander of the U.S. Army V Corps in Frankfurt, Germany. Powell worked as a senior military assistant to Carlucci at the Pentagon. Carlucci appointed as NSC director of Middle East affairs, former State Department director of antiterrorism, Robert B. Oakley, a former Princeton classmate. Carlucci's new executive secretary, retired Army Colonel Grant Green, was his assistant both at the Pentagon and at Sears World Trade.

Finally, he named José S. Sorzano to oversee Latin American affairs and the continuing propaganda operations of Radio Martí. Sorzano is a zealous Cuban-American activist who was president of the Cuban-American Foundation, a professor of government at Georgetown University, and Jeane Kirkpatrick's deputy at the U.N. from 1983 to 1985.¹⁷

The day President Reagan named his new National Security Adviser, the fifth of his presidency, Carlucci told the media at a White House briefing, "I am organizing for the future."¹⁸ A sober analysis of his career and of his ideological commitment gives rise to deep concern about what he intends to organize and for what kind of future.

15. *Washington Post*, January 17, 1987, p. A18.

16. Jonathan Kwitny, "New NSC Chief's Ties to Men Cited in Iran Crisis, Illegal Arms Deal May Cloud Housekeeping Task," *Wall Street Journal*, January 9, 1987, p. 44. While with Sears, Carlucci hired, at a \$200,000 annual salary, Erich von Marhof, a former Pentagon director of international arms sales, who had resigned in the midst of the Edwin Wilson investigations.

17. *Washington Post*, December 17, 1986, p. A16.

18. NBC Evening News, December 5, 1986

"Southern Air, We're Southern Air...":

The Reagan White House's Private Air Force

By David Truong D. H.*

A current country music song by artist Ray Stevens talks about a fictitious airline and opens with the following rhyme:

Southern Air, we're Southern Air
Flyin' high over Dixie
Hospitality to spare...

In its newsletter last summer, Southern Air Transport described this potential hit as good for business, with little thought to the company's own potential for publicity in the coming months.

Southern Air Transport is now the world's largest commercial freight airline using Hercules L-100 planes. In July 1986, it tripled its fleet to eighteen such aircraft, in addition to the Boeing 707s which it had been operating since early 1986. Last year, following years of losses, Southern Air experienced an all-time record income—more than \$5 million in one month alone. While revenues for 1986 were estimated at about \$40 million, James H. Bastian, Southern Air's board chairman and sole owner since 1980, said recently that revenues for 1987 should be well over \$100 million.¹

Southern Air is however more than just a burgeoning air freight company. Its ties to U.S. intelligence and covert activities span three decades. In the 1960s, Southern Air, together with Air America, Air Asia, Civil Air Transport, and other concerns, made up the covert "air force" of the Central Intelligence Agency. During this period, James Bastian was general counsel for both Southern Air and Air America. SAT's corporate roots during its CIA days were with an obscure company founded by George A. Doole, Jr., Pacific Corporation, based in Delaware.

Doole, who died in March 1985, was to CIA proprietary airlines what Admiral Rickover was to the U.S. nuclear navy. A short time after Doole's retirement from clandestine work in 1971, the Agency decided, for various reasons, to sell its proprietaries. Stanley G. Williams, Southern Air's chief officer, who helped Doole run the airline for a decade, bought it in December 1973 at a bargain price, with the explicit agreement that it would be available for clandestine operations if needed by the Agency.²

Southern Air's economic rebound with its L-100 fleet may be related to a 1973 agreement with the CIA. Southern Air did not actually buy the Hercules L-100s from Transamerica Airlines. The latter shut down its operations on September 30, 1985. Its employees, wanting to make the airline their own,

offered, with the help of financial backers, to purchase Transamerica for \$110 million. At the time, Southern Air's management made a lower offer of \$82.5 million. Transamerica's management—known to have personal ties to the Agency—rejected their employees' offer and sold the company's assets to Southern Air. In early 1986 however, it was revealed that Southern Air did not actually purchase the L-100s; it simply leased them from Transamerica while claiming publicly in its newsletter that it was buying them.

This expansion came at the time of a parallel increase in U.S. covert activities in Central America. Had Southern Air decided to buy the L-100s it would have had to reveal, in its financial statements for the Federal Aviation Administration, that the funding originated from the CIA or a CIA proprietary.

Southern Air's CIA connection was first exposed in the early 1970s; it received further unwanted publicity in 1976 in the Report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations With Respect to Intelligence Activities—the Church Committee.

In July 1984, CBS News exposed Southern Air's renewed involvement with CIA support activities for the *contras*.³ It told of several flights of small arms shipments to the *contras*, beginning in April 1983 and originating at Palmerola air base in Honduras. Nothing more of significance came out at that time. Then, in 1986, the downing of a C-123K over Nicaragua, on a covert flight to resupply weapons to the *contras*, produced a major rent in the veil of secrecy around Southern Air's air freight activities.

Since the downing of the plane, on October 5, developments in Washington and in Central America clearly indicate that Southern Air Transport was for all purposes the clandestine air force of the Reagan White House. Initially, the administration remained silent and tried to contain the incident and subsequent revelations. However, at the trial of the captured surviving crew member, Eugene Hasenfus, Nicaraguan officials produced records and documents from the plane's wreckage, exposing Southern Air's clandestine role. Hasenfus confirmed the information. This prompted investigations by the FBI and by congressional subcommittees into possible violations of the Neutrality Act and Arms Control Act.⁴

The two deceased crew members, William J. Cooper (who originally hired Hasenfus) and Wallace B. Sawyer, had flown for Southern Air since 1981. They were also Air America veterans. In fact, they belonged to the Air America Association Club from which Southern Air hired most of its employees. Two decades ago, the CIA used the now defunct Air America as its air force in the war in Indochina. It was the largest paramilitary program in history and involved servicing and

1. *Southernews*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Summer 1986.

2. *Washington Post*, December 20, 1986.

* David Truong D. H. is a researcher and policy analyst and a long-time watcher of U.S. intelligence activities in the Third World.

3. See CAIB, Number 22 (Fall 1984), pp. 28-29.

4. *Miami Herald*, October 18, 1986.

supplying tens of thousands of Thai and Laotian mercenaries from Thailand.⁵

It comes as no surprise that all of the participants in the so-called "private" air support network to the *contras* (an operation one-tenth the size of the Agency's covert war in Laos), specialized in covert organizational and logistical skills developed at various levels during the war in Indochina. But while covert activities in Indochina were managed entirely by the Agency, with considerable input from other government organizations, the *contra* aid program seems to be managed directly out of the White House with the participation of high-level CIA officials. Other senior officials seem to have had little say in the *contra* war.

The Contra Supply Network: Field Office

On October 5, Félix Rodríguez, also known as Max Gómez, twice called Vice President George Bush's deputy national security adviser, Col. Sam Watson to inform him about the missing plane.⁶ In his testimony, Hasenfus identified Rodríguez as one of the covert flight managers and chief liaison between the U.S. supply operation and the Salvadoran air force command. In fact, the Cuban-born Bay of Pigs and Vietnam special operations veteran has a most notorious past. He was a CIA adviser to the Bolivian commandos who captured Che Guevara in 1965, and insiders have reported that it was he who shot the defenseless, wounded prisoner in the head. Rodríguez admits to carrying Che's wristwatch and reportedly also carries a lock of his hair.

According to documents obtained by the *Washington Post*, Rodríguez, along with two other CIA veterans, Luis Posada Carriles and Rafael Quintero, ran a motley fleet of five aircraft at Ilopango air base in El Salvador.⁷ The flight crews, 25 men in all, were working for Southern Air. A Panama-based front company, Udall Research Corp., provided the management cover for the operation. Aguacate airfield in Honduras was the other key airfield in the region fulfilling the same supply function.

Luis Posada, who was also known as Ramón Medina, is as notorious as Rodríguez. He capped a 15-year career of terrorist actions against Cuba with his participation in the 1976 bombing of a Cubana airliner off Barbados, which killed all 73 people aboard. He was jailed in Venezuela along with the mastermind of the Cubana operation, Orlando Bosch, but escaped several years ago, under mysterious circumstances.

Quintero went often to Costa Rica, seeking precise coordinates for air drops from the *contra* headquarters. He then relayed the information to Rodríguez and Posada for execution of the drops over southern Nicaragua. CIA officers were reported to be managing the *contras'* operational headquarters in Costa Rica.⁸ While on "humanitarian" supply

5. See Christopher Robbins, *Air America: The Story of the CIA's Secret Airlines* (New York: Putnam's, 1979), and John Marks, "The CIA's Corporate Shell Game," in *Dirty Work: The CIA in Western Europe* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Lyle Stuart, 1978), p. 127.

6. *New York Times*, December 16, 1986.

7. For an excellent investigation of *contra*-related operations in Central America, see Ron Curran and John Zack, "The Contra Connection," *Los Angeles Weekly*, December 12, 1986; and Jay Levin, "Nicaragua: The Invasion Plans," *Los Angeles Weekly*, December 12, 1986.

8. *New York Times*, January 31, 1987. According to the January 17, 1987 *Los Angeles Times*, the CIA's Chief of Station in San José, Costa Rica, previously disciplined for his role in the preparation of the notorious *contra* manual advocating assassination, has been recalled because of his excessive involvement with *contras* in his host country. Robert Parry of the Associated Press reported further on January 23, 1987 that the station chief, codenamed



Credit: Soberania

Luis Posada Carriles, CIA veteran, surfaces again in Contragate.

flights, Southern Air crews helped map coordinates for future weapons drops.

Beginning in January 1986, CIA agents were running the *contras'* logistical system in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras, following Ronald Reagan's intelligence finding of January 9, 1986. The CIA spent \$13 million toward that end.⁹

Southern Air claimed that an "unknown client" hired it to maintain the five aircraft at Ilopango. They frequently flew to Miami for "maintenance" and, on the return flights, crew members often picked up \$10,000 at Southern Air's Miami office. This is the legal currency limit allowed across the U.S. border without any customs declaration. These cash transfers paid for the Ilopango group's operating expenses at the discretion of Posada.¹⁰ There are also numerous reports of drug-smuggling flights by the Ilopango group.¹¹

The Money Trail: Hakim, Secord, and North

As is CIA practice, the funding and servicing of the five aircraft at Ilopango were made in a compartmentalized manner so the source of the funds could not be traced. Crew members received their paychecks by direct wire transfer to U.S. bank accounts from an unknown Pennsylvania-based company, Corporate Air Services, Inc., the channel for the funding source.

The planes at Ilopango cost a little more than \$1 million. American Marketing and Consulting Co.—one of retired General Richard V. Secord's many shell companies—bought the first DHC Caribou and then resold it to the *contras* in 1985. American Marketing sold the second Caribou directly to Udall Research in October 1985; they then exported it to Panama. SAT purchased the C-123s. Southern Air's management claims, from an "unknown customer."

Except for the C-123s, the funds used to pay the seller, Maule Air Inc., for the other aircraft came from a Bermuda subsidiary of a Swiss-based banking services concern, Compagnie de Services Fiducières (CSF). Following the decision by the Swiss Justice Ministry to cooperate with the U.S. Justice Department's criminal investigation of the Iran-contra connection, it was revealed that CSF's director, William J. Zuker, has been the Geneva lawyer for Albert Hakim and his firm, Stanford Technology Trading Group International. Hakim's partner is General Secord.¹² Zuker personally managed money transfers into two secret accounts at Credit

Tomas Castillo, had been suspended by the CIA, allegedly for lying to an in-house Agency investigation.

9. *Washington Post*, January 14, 1987.

10. *Washington Post*, December 7, 1986.

11. See *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, January 20, 1987.

12. See Peter Maas, "Oliver North's Strange Recruits," *New York Times Magazine*, January 18, 1987, p. 20.

Credit: *Sabotage*

SOUTHERN AIR TRANSPORT

Suisse, one controlled by Secord, Hakim, and Oliver North together, and the other by North alone under the name of Lake Resources. Lake Resources was another Panama-based shell company.

Oliver North also used a third account which the CIA set up. In it were some of the profits from the Iran arms sales earmarked for use by the *contras*. This account was used to finance the rebels in Afghanistan to the tune of \$500 million per year.

It is extremely likely that funds for the aircraft and their flight crews came from these accounts, as further investigation by the new independent prosecutor will show. Such funds could have been generated by loans or contributions from cash-rich countries like Saudi Arabia in return for U.S. compensatory moves favorable to their security interests or by profits from the sale of arms to Iran. The latter would only be available from August 1985 when the Reagan administration agreed to shipments of U.S. weapons to Iran. Recently, one *contra* leader, Alfonso Robelo, admitted that the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) had received about 25 percent of the funds from profits of arms sales to Iran.¹³ The answers to key questions about the supply network and its funding (not to mention the apparently missing millions) will have to come from Richard Secord and Oliver North.

Come Fly Southern Air: The Operational Managers

On October 5th, Félix Rodríguez also sent a coded message about the missing C-123 to retired Col. Robert C. Dutton in Vienna, Virginia. Dutton is Secord's assistant at Stanford Technology Trading Corp.¹⁴ Telephone records indicated that Southern Air crew members made many calls to retired Lt. Col. Richard Gadd, whose company office is in the same building as Stanford Technology Trading Corp.¹⁵

According to available records, the State Department contracted Gadd's firm, American National Management Corp., to deliver non-military supplies to the *contras* inside Nicaragua and to *contra* camps in Honduras. *Contra* leaders Adolfo and Mario Calero personally chose this company. The individuals at the State Department responsible for overseeing the *contra* aid program and acting as liaison with Gadd were Robert Owen and Elliott Abrams. Abrams is now head of the Interagency Task Force in charge of disbursing the \$60 million appropriated by Congress for the *contras*.

Gadd then subcontracted Southern Air Transport to set up

the delivery network. In early 1986, Dutton began to share operational control of the activities of Southern Air's flight crews at Illopango.¹⁶

After the State Department contracted Gadd's firm, he reportedly told the flight crew to mix weapons and ammunition with non-military supplies on their supply flights.¹⁷ This was a direct violation of the congressional ban on military aid to the *contras*. Southern Air and State Department officials continue to maintain that the weapons supply operation was separate.

Secord, Dutton, and Gadd were all graduates of the Office of Special Operations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Secord had the longest experience in clandestine operations, dating back to the late 1960s. He was then stationed in Udorn, Thailand, working with the CIA in the clandestine war in neighboring Laos. It is no wonder that Secord, by every account, became the operational commander of the weapons supply network, using Southern Air as the hub for operations in the U.S. Secord has ties to key CIA senior officials he met during the war in Laos. Tom Clines and Theodore Shackley, a former deputy director of operations, both helped him put together the *contra* supply network.¹⁸

Southern Air's Policy Executives

After Col. Watson spoke with Félix Rodríguez the day the plane was shot down, he promptly alerted the White House Situation Room and the NSC staff. By extension, this meant informing Oliver North as well as the chief CIA officer detailed to the NSC, Duane Clarridge. Both played key roles in Central America and Middle East operations.¹⁹

Watson's contacts with Rodríguez were documented in a chronology of events which Vice President George Bush's office released more than two months after the C-123 downing.²⁰ By then, the entire administration perceived itself besieged by the media and the revelations around the Iran-*contra* connection.

The statement from Bush's office showed the depth of White House involvement in the covert supply network. Until December 15th, the White House insisted it had no part in the operation. In a message dated October 6, Col. Dutton warned Rodríguez not to call "high ranking officials" directly any longer.²¹ On January 3, 1987, Rodríguez issued a statement downplaying his crucial role in the Illopango operation. He also agreed fully with the chronology of events released by Bush's office.

While the role of Vice President Bush and his staff in the *contra* supply operation has yet to surface fully, the more visible aspect of White House clandestine operations has been Oliver North's daring travels and meetings with the help of Secord. North also received a call from William Casey shortly after the C-123 downing. North had long been a key participant in a little known interagency covert action planning group, dubbed the "208 Committee." Located in room 208 of the Executive Office Building adjacent to the White House, the com-

16. *Washington Post*, December 7, 1986.

17. *Newsday*, December 7, 1986.

18. *New York Times*, December 6, 1986; and see Maas, *op. cit.*, n. 12.

19. Clarridge's links to Col. North and direct aid to the *contras* in violation of congressional prohibitions was the subject of a *New York Times* article, January 21, 1987. Also, NBC News quoted U.S. government sources saying Clarridge planned the 1983 mining of Nicaragua's harbors and wrote the CIA's controversial training manual for the *contras* the same year.

20. Statement from Vice President Bush's office, December 15, 1986.

21. *Washington Post*, December 7, 1986.

13. Associated Press, December 16, 1986, from San José, Costa Rica.

14. *Washington Post*, December 7, 1986.

15. *Newsday*, December 7, 1986.



Credit: Southern Air Transport

Hercules L-100, the workhorse of the Southern Air Transport covert operations.

mittee's planning was done by the NSC staff and their resident CIA colleagues. There has been no confirmation of the activities of the 208 Committee in the management of the *contra* war and of the Iran arms sales.

The activities of former National Security Adviser Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter in the Iran-*contra* connection remain unclear; in the final analysis, events may show that Poindexter did make all the key decisions with regard to the *contra* connection, most likely with the President's broad, philosophical blessing.

At every level, major efforts were made to fine tune the legal implications of joint NSC-CIA covert activities so that no one would end up required to report to Congress.

The Weapons Flights to Iran

Southern Air played an even more essential covert role in the Iran arms sale, than it did in Central America. The airline was a tool to further the White House plans to reestablish a foothold in this strategically located country on the Persian Gulf.

Though Southern Air is no longer a proprietary of the CIA, its owner, James Bastian, and its management have long ties to the Agency. Today, the airline remains at the beck and call of the CIA, and most likely the Pentagon's Office of Special Operations, for clandestine air freight activities. The Military Air Command at Scott Air Force Base in Illinois also influenced Southern Air's activities. MAC contracts, according to data from the Federal Procurement Data Center, made up an increasing share of Southern Air's yearly business since 1984: \$9.1 million in 1984 (32 percent), \$23.4 million in 1985 (60 percent), and \$18.2 million or 57 percent for the first 9 months in 1986 (4th quarter data are not yet available). For 1987, MAC's contracts are estimated at 65 percent of Southern Air's total business.

In late November 1985, Duane Clarridge, Casey's White House watchdog, contacted Southern Air regarding an arms shipment to Iran, at the request of Oliver North. He needed to fly a cargo of U.S.-made weapons, stocked in Israel, from Lisbon to Tehran, because the Israelis encountered objections from the Portuguese government for their own transshipment of arms to Iran, and needed U.S. help. Southern Air provided one of its B-707s based in Ankara, Turkey.

As in the *contra* supply operation, North asked Secord to supervise the sensitive arms transshipment in Lisbon. The CIA station in Lisbon apparently pressured the Portuguese.²² The Agency's then Deputy Director, John McMahon, protested North's request—done without clear presidential au-

thority—but nevertheless approved Southern Air's flight from Lisbon to Tehran. The shipment included parts for 18 early model Hawk missiles but Iran eventually rejected them as useless and obsolete. Southern Air's management did not register its B-707 flight with the F.A.A.

Southern Air's subsequent flights for the White House were all direct from the United States and part of U.S. overtures to Iran. SAT made four sets of flights in 1986, all under the supervision of Secord: early February, late May, July-August, and mid-October. They left from Kelly Air Force Base, which SAT also uses for shipments of materiel to Illopango, El Salvador and Palmerola, Honduras for the *contras*.

The February and October shipments involved two B-707 flights, the July-August shipment three; all flights carried mostly older TOW missiles. The May shipment, known as the McFarlane mission, was to involve three flights; due to the failure of the McFarlane group to persuade Iran to help free the remaining American hostages in Lebanon, two loaded B-707s remained in Israel.²³ The Southern Air flight which carried the McFarlane group also carried items that Iran had long wanted: critical spare parts for Iranian I (improved) Hawk missile batteries (and a Bible and cake from the White House). The parts were to strengthen significantly Iran's air defenses of oil installations against attacking Iraqi aircraft.

According to some intelligence officials, the May flight might have carried crucial spare parts for U.S.-made Phoenix air-to-air missiles as a symbolic gesture. This past fall, for the first time in years, an Iraqi Mirage fighter was downed by an Iranian Phoenix missile, according to Xinhua News Agency and Radio Tehran (October 15-16).

The U.S. supplied Iran with a total of 2,008 TOW missiles and several hundred critical I-Hawk missile parts. This includes one or two Israeli shipments in September 1985 from their own stocks, using one of their three cargo airlines.

For the Iran flights, Southern Air was closely tied to the still secret logistics system the Pentagon and CIA used when dealing with arms transfers for covert operations. Kelly AFB has been the very secure home of the Electronic Security Command and provides "technical services" support for multiservice operations, i.e., covert operations.

Air America of the 1980s

In many ways, Southern Air resembles modern private corporations which depend heavily on defense-related contracts for their livelihood, like many high-tech companies and thinktanks in the Washington metropolitan area, which do

22. *Washington Post*, January 11, 1987.

23. *New York Times*, December 15, 1986.

classified or covert work for the Pentagon, the CIA, and similar agencies. Covert activities remain a trademark of Southern Air. In the 1980s, the CIA or the Pentagon's Office of Special Operations would simply contract Southern Air to carry out the covert delivery of weapons to UNITA rebels in Angola. For example, Southern Air L-100s flew in August 1983 from Dallas to Lagos, Nigeria, long a major transshipment point for Agency deliveries to UNITA. In May and June of 1983, according to FAA records, Southern Air made two very unusual flights to Luanda, Angola, from Dobbins AFB in Marietta, Georgia. These flights currently are under congressional scrutiny.

Southern Air has also relied heavily on Military Airlift Command contracts. From April to December 1985, it flew an enormous amount of military cargo throughout the Caribbean and Central America from two bases: Charleston, South Carolina and Norfolk, Virginia. Lagos, Portugal, and Howard AFB, Panama, were two major transshipment points. Beginning in January 1985, Southern Air made several flights from Miami to San Salvador, Tegucigalpa, and Guatemala City for *contra* resupply operations.²⁴

Miami, however, was not the only point of departure. Other airports in the U.S. from which shipments of materiel go to the *contras* include: Daytona Beach, New Smyrna, Hollywood, Fort Lauderdale, and the civilian airport at Elgin, all in Florida; Moisant Field near New Orleans and Baton Rouge, both in

24. The only major non-U.S. government contract in the past three years has been with an Irish cargo company, Guernsey IAS, a subcontractor to Di-amang, Angola's state diamond company.

Disinformationgate (continued from page 72)

Naturally, the *New York Times* placed the initiative with the National Security Council: "President Reagan contended that the program had its inception in mid-1985 when McFarlane sent an American consultant, Michael Ledeen to Israel."³

The Israeli press depicted Ledeen as an American agent who got Israel involved as a broker in a deal between the U.S. and Iran. Israeli Defense Minister and former Director General of Foreign Affairs David Kimche told the *Los Angeles Times* that the purpose of his July 1985 visit to Washington was to confirm Ledeen's bona fides. However, there were a number of glaring problems with the Israeli cover story. Kimche had already met with McFarlane in January 1985 to urge arms sales to Iran.⁴ He had been pushing for this policy since 1981.

3. *New York Times*, December 11, 1987. The significance of the Israeli role was finally broached in the *Times* on February 1, 1987, p. 1.

4. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (December 28, 1986), in January 1985, "Kimche approaches McFarlane with a list of hundreds of Iranian 'moderates' and encourages the U.S. to open a dialogue with the Iranians." And according to the *Miami Herald* (December 7, 1986), Kimche, "the prime mover of Israel's policy of secretly selling arms to Iran, tried as early as 1981 to get the U.S. to trade arms with Iranian moderates." Ledeen has been deeply embroiled in Iranian politics for some time, and not, it would seem, on the side of the "moderates." According to Diana Johnstone's recent (January 21, 1987) *In These Times* interview with Abol Hassan Bani Sadr, former President of Iran, Ledeen, who accompanied McFarlane and North on his May 1986 trip, is known in Iran as "the man who sold out Sadiq Ghotbzadeh to Khomeini." In 1982, Ghotbzadeh, then Foreign Minister, was apparently involved in a plot to replace Khomeini, and sent word only for the U.S. not to intervene. But Ledeen advised the U.S. government that Khomeini was anti-Soviet, which was good enough for the U.S.; it therefore opposed any move against him. Two months later, Ghotbzadeh was arrested and executed.

Louisiana; San Francisco, Sepulveda, and Long Beach in California; and Houston-Hobby and Dallas-Fort Worth in Texas. Military airports include: Kelly AFB, Charleston AFB, Scott AFB, and Howard AFB. The international transshipment points for weapons are Lisbon and Lagos in Portugal.

In early 1986 there were several Southern Air flights from Lisbon, Portugal, to Ilopango, El Salvador. Intelligence sources confirmed that there was an influx of aid to the *contras* via Ilopango at this time.²⁵

Conclusion

Southern Air Transport, though ostensibly no longer a CIA proprietary, has evolved into a modern version of Air America. While doing regular contract work for the Pentagon's MAC and for civilian charters, Southern Air can immediately transform itself into a covert air force for the CIA and other agencies. This is corporate flexibility that the CIA airline proprietaries of the 1960s did not have. As a result it makes Southern Air a more destructive instrument in furthering U.S. covert policy objectives in many regions.

One example has been Southern Air's multi-regional role in Central America and in the Iranian arms scandal, managed by Richard Secord and the Reagan White House. A covert instrument, however, is only as potent as those who wield it. With the continuing revelations of the Iran-*contra* connection, perhaps Southern Air Transport will become just another bankrupt cargo airline.

25. *New York Times*, December 1, 1986.

And Ledeen was hardly a stranger to Israeli officials. In fact, the ludicrous part of the Israeli cover story is the allegation that Kimche, who lived in New York for five years in the 1960s as chief of Mossad's western hemisphere operations division, had to travel to Washington to establish Ledeen's bona fides. David Kimche and Amiram Nir spent their professional lives in the Mossad, an agency not unknown to Ledeen.

Ledeen and Israel

Michael Ledeen was a founder of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs and was a major participant in the 1979 and 1984 Jonathan Institute Conferences on Terrorism.⁵ Both institutes have substantial ties to Mossad. Indeed, Ledeen is the missing link of covert operations by Mossad in the U.S. during the Reagan administration.

The most visible trail left by Mossad is the disinformation activities of Ledeen and friends. Michael Ledeen, Robert Moss, and Claire Sterling were all speakers at the 1979 Jerusalem conference of the Jonathan Institute, a meeting which many Israeli intelligence agents attended. The speakers bemoaned the fall of Somoza and the Shah; Moss blamed the KGB;⁶ Ledeen pointed out that even the KGB would not have succeeded if it were not for their mole (unnamed) in the Carter administration. Ledeen and his co-disinfectionists always raise the specter of a KGB role in Iran and Nicaragua, primarily to justify more U.S. covert action. Indeed, one of the themes at the Jerusalem Conference was that Carter had destroyed the CIA.

5. See CAIB, Number 22 (Fall 1984), p. 5; and Number 23 (Spring 1985), pp. 16-17, 26, 31-33.

6. *Wall Street Journal*, July 26, 1979.

Israel's Worries

Governments like South Korea, Taiwan, Turkey, and especially Israel, simply cannot survive without continued U.S. military and economic assistance. The "loss" of Iran and Nicaragua under the Carter administration led them to a certain concern about the reliability of the United States. Israel decided it would have to play a more aggressive role in U.S. domestic politics in order to guarantee an unwavering partner. The propaganda themes spread during the Jerusalem conference were aimed at the 1980 U.S. elections, to discredit Carter, support conservatives, and present Israel as the U.S.'s most reliable ally in the face of terrorist and Soviet threats. The vehicle was disinformation.

The Golden Age of Disinformation

At no other time in American history, not even during World War II, have so many millions of Americans been led to believe such hysterical hoaxes. The Reagan era will go down in history as the golden age of disinformation. And if you follow the paper trail of verifiable disinformation spread the last six years within the U.S., the Israelis are first, the CIA a poor second, and the KGB dead last as a source of disinformation spread in the U.S.

Disinformation became one of the buzzwords of the Reagan administration. It covered every piece of news they didn't like, including statements by Democrats. Meanwhile the CIA spread disinformation about Libya, Iran, Grenada, and Nicaragua. Hours before the Grenada invasion, Admiral Poindexter told reporters an invasion was out of the question. Later he wrote his famous memo outlining a policy of disinformation aimed at Libya. President Reagan accused Sandinista leaders of being dope dealers. As part of McFarlane's cover story for U.S. involvement in Iran, he repeated disinformation about a massive build-up of Soviet strength on the Iranian border.

Disinformation is intrinsically of interest to journalists because someone is polluting the information stream. What is not generally realized is that disinformation is always coordinated with other covert operations. Often a specific disinformation theme is deception and cover for other activities by the originator. Michael Ledeen has been involved in the dissemination of a number of disinformation stories which provide sufficient data to test this proposition.

Before popping up in the middle of the Iran-contra scandal, Ledeen had built up a reputation concocting or spreading major disinformation themes, among them:

- The notion that the CIA was destroyed under Carter;
- That there was a KGB Mole in the Carter administration;
- That the loss of Iran and Nicaragua was the work of the mole;
- That the Soviet Union is behind an International Terror Network;
- That it tried to kill the Pope;
- That the Libyans tried to kill President Reagan;
- That the Iranians tried to kill President Reagan; and
- That Fidel Castro and Tomás Borge are major narcotics dealers.

These fake stories, spread with the conspicuous help of Israel, had the surface appearance of being solely rightwing American propaganda. In fact, Israel was actively covering its penetration of the U.S. foreign policy establishment. Indeed, the first four hoaxes were the Mossad Party Platform for the 1980 U.S. elections. To sell its expertise in the area of combatting terrorism, and to get the attention of credulous



Credit: Richard Kozak, *Washington Times*

Michael Ledeen, Mossad contact in arms-for-hostages deal.

American conservatives, Israel fostered a Soviet angle. It tried to curry favor with the CIA, and to discredit further the existing liberal U.S. foreign policy establishment by launching a witchhunt against non-existent moles.

Mossad cannot stand détente between Iraq and Iran or between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It is to the advantage of Israeli intelligence to promote the notion that the Soviet Union tried to kill the Pope and that it is behind all acts of international terrorism.

While everyone else was amused by the preposterous story of a Libyan "hit squad" out to kill the President, a story which originated with Israeli intelligence,⁷ Reagan had concrete bunkers built to surround the White House, and heavily armed Marines in fatigues on the roof. If you are an intelligence agent and you want to get the attention of some world leader, tell him you have uncovered a terrorist plot to kill him. The CIA had been employing this trick in the Third World for years; why should we be surprised that Mossad pulled it on Reagan?

Arms Deals

The Israeli media are focusing on Ledeen, describing him as an American agent, not because he really helped organize the plan, but to divert attention from David Kimebe and Amiram Nir. On one level, the Iran-contra scandal is merely a giant footnote in the story of Israeli intelligence operations in support of arms sales.⁸

7. See *Los Angeles Times*, December 14, 1981, and *CAIB*, Number 16 (March 1982), p. 25.

8. Israel has the largest stockpile of U.S. weapons outside of the U.S., and as a result of the invasion of Lebanon, and other actions, a huge stockpile of Soviet weapons. Israel itself is a major arms manufacturer and exporter, especially to countries such as Iran, South Africa, Taiwan, and Chile. Since Israel's military security is dependent on having the very latest weapons, there is a constant need to sell obsolete U.S. and Soviet weapons. Israel must devote sums for research and development closer to the budget of a superpower, out of all proportion to a country of 4.5 million. One way of paying is by selling 70 percent of Israeli manufactured weapons abroad.

According to the *New York Times*, "hundreds of retired Israeli army officers, ex-agents of Israel's secret service, the Mossad, and private arms merchants are circling the globe trying to put together arms deals."⁹ The *Washington Post*, put the number of such Mossad agents and arms dealers at "between 700-800."¹⁰

The Iranian arms deal that Oliver North and Michael Ledeen were involved in is similar in nature to two previous cases where criminal charges were brought: those of Israeli General Abram Baram in New York and Paul Cutter in Orlando, Florida. In fact these two cases shed new light on the clear pattern of Israeli involvement behind all these so-called "Iran arms cases."

The Israeli role in the New York case is straightforward, even though the sums are staggering: \$2.5 billion worth of weapons to Iran, including an entire brigade of tanks. The cast of characters is familiar: Adnan Khashoggi, his attorney, Ghorbanifar, McFarlane, etc. The other case is less well known.

When Michael Ledeen founded the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs, Paul Cutter became a Director. He had been the editor of *Military Science and Technology*. After the invasion of Lebanon, when Ariel Sharon was getting some bad press in the U.S., Cutter's magazine was full of articles by Sharon and friends, along with puff pieces extolling Israel.¹¹

Cutter became Director of a new company, European Defense Associates, with offices in Paris,¹² London, Washington, and Tel-Aviv. It sold arms captured by Israel in Lebanon to U.S. allies, and later, U.S. weapons stockpiled in Europe to Iran. He set up a new magazine, *Defense Systems Review*, where he shared the masthead with Brig. Gen. Meier Ben Naftali and Shoshana Bryen. Shoshana Bryen was identified as "executive director of the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs," while Gen. Naftali was "assigned to the U.S. as head of the Israeli Procurement Mission."

Cutter was caught in an FBI sting in Orlando, for conspiracy to sell arms to Iran and of the six defendants was the only one sent to jail.¹³ Cutter might be forgiven a certain amount of bitterness, sitting in his jail cell in Arizona watching Ledeen on ABC's "Nightline" and Israeli arms dealers living in palatial estates.

Israeli Penetration

Even granted constant Israeli pressure, the question remains why the Reagan administration collaborated in a deal in which it stood to gain very little. The answer lies in a combination of Israel propaganda and covert Israeli penetration of the U.S. foreign policy establishment.

Preceding the 1980 elections, Israel had already built up a significant influence in the Committee for the Free World, the

9. *New York Times*, December 7, 1986.

10. *Washington Post*, December 12, 1986.

11. *Military Science and Technology*, January, February, and March 1983. Cutter toured Lebanon at Sharon's invitation.

12. The manager of the Paris office of European Defense Associates was Col. Ralph Mark Broman. Broman was also the Paris chief of the Pentagon's Office of Defense Cooperation, which controls the movement of U.S. weapons among U.S. allies.

13. Cutter claims that his operations involved arms sales of \$1.2 billion, with commissions of \$400 million. That money, he says, was siphoned off by the Pentagon to *contras* fighting the governments of Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, and/or Nicaragua.

Committee on the Present Danger, the National Strategy Information Center, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies. These organizations went on to staff the Reagan transition teams for the CIA, NSC, Pentagon, and State; and members later took over top positions in these foreign-policy-making bodies.

Michael Ledeen was brought to the CSIS¹⁴ by David Abshire and Walter Laquer. Laquer is part of the Israel lobby at CSIS, together with Yonah Alexander and Edward Luttwak. Ledeen was transmogrified from a petty propagandist into a national security expert through his post at CSIS. When Reagan took office, Ledeen was one of over 30 CSIS staffers to join the new administration.

People outside Washington do not realize the extent to which U.S. foreign policy is initiated by the staffs of congressional committees and the staffs of the Directors of the CIA or NSC. This is the case even in normal times. Under Reagan, foreign policy sank all the way to the basement.

Why Did They Do It?

It is not part of any White House cover-up to portray Reagan as detached and uninformed, or even senile. The locus of Iran policy really was the White House basement. And if Reagan did not know everything the NSC was up to in his basement, the public knew nothing at all. It was fed a diet of secrecy, deception, and disinformation.

There is a connection between disinformation and covert action, between deception and political intrigue. While Kimche, Nir, Ledeen, and North were acting behind closed doors, what the public got was disinformation.

Who Is the Mole?

Ledeen is the kind of person who thinks that the shortest distance between two points is a tunnel. As befits an individual obsessed with moles, Ledeen has spent a great deal of time in Washington and Tel-Aviv tunnels. The Iran-contra story is fairly complex, but journalists are missing the real story: Michael Ledeen is the mole.

14. On Ledeen's role as editor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), see CAIB, Number 10 (August 1980): "The CSIS is an intelligence-connected think-tank and conservative shadow cabinet."

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Disinformationgate

By Fred Landis*

If Contragate is the new Watergate, then Lt. Col. Oliver North is G. Gordon Liddy and Michael Ledeen is E. Howard Hunt. One thing that unites these two characters is an almost infantile fascination with psychological propaganda operations—"psyops."

The North-Ledeen Team

North and Ledeen have worked together in a number of operations in recent years, very different, but all, one way or another involving psyops or disinformation.

In 1983, North was involved in the Grenada invasion.¹ The media were excluded and U.S. Army Psyops took over the local press and radio. The mainstream U.S. media got a bizarre White Paper authored by Michael Ledeen, purportedly based upon the three tons of documentation the U.S. invaders seized.

That same year Ledeen and North participated in a National Security Council planning group that led to the creation of the State Department's Office of Public Diplomacy. North fed the Office CIA and DIA material on Nicaragua, grist for its propaganda mill, while Ledeen and others churned it out.

In 1984, North masterminded an attempted drug trade sting against Nicaragua. North's colleague, "retired" Gen. Richard V. Secord, purchased a C-123K cargo plane from Southern Air Transport. It was outfitted with hidden cameras and turned over to DEA agent Barry Adler Seal. Seal then force landed at a military airfield in Nicaragua, where he got photos of a Nicaraguan official, Federico Vaughn, investigating. That photo then became the basis of much disinformation on a supposed Borge-Castro narcotics trafficking ring.² President Reagan used the photo on television, stating, with utterly no

1. North worked with the Delta Force, which was involved, disastrously, in the early hours of the invasion of Grenada.

2. See, e.g., the *Washington Times* of August 9, 1984.

* Fred Landis is a specialist in propaganda analysis who has contributed frequently to CAIB. His new book, *The CIA Propaganda Machine*, will be published by Ramparts Press this year. He also lectures on this theme.

evidence or justification, that a box in the picture was filled with drugs. Like a bad penny, the same plane returned to Nicaragua in October 1986, carrying Eugene Hasenfus.

After the 1984 congressional elections, North helped plan a series of sonic booms over Nicaragua, in an attempt to rattle the Sandinistas. Ledeen then orchestrated a rumor campaign among the Washington press corps that the invasion of Grenada had just been a preamble to the invasion of Nicaragua.

In the 1986 congressional elections, North assisted in the political campaigns of Senators Paula Hawkins (Rep.-Fla.) and Jeremiah Denton (Rep.-Ala.). They lost. But interestingly, Denton's Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism and Hawkins's Subcommittee on Children, Family, Drugs, and Alcohol were both favorite platforms for Ledeen to spread his media hoaxes.

Ledeen and Contragate

Ledeen's role in Iran-a-scum and Contragate begins with his secret missions to Israel. But it is unclear who was urging whom to do what. According to leaked portions of a Senate Intelligence Committee report, the sale of arms to Iran was planned and implemented by the Israeli intelligence service, Mossad. Each time that the U.S. rejected further participation in the Israeli plan, some Mossad agent was urgently dispatched to the U.S. to put their plan back on track. Throughout the leaked Senate report, there are references to "the Israeli plan." And the text of a memo by Lt. Col. Oliver North titled, "Covert Action Finding Regarding Iran" reads: "Prime Minister Peres of Israel secretly dispatched his special adviser on terrorism (Amiram Nir) with instructions to propose a plan by which Israel, with limited assistance from the U.S. can create conditions...."

But instead of trying to shift the blame to Israel, the White House sought to delete all references to the Israeli role from the Senate report, and the media accounts followed suit.

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